The Mythic Journey and Its Symbolism:
A Study of the Development of Buddhist Guidebooks to Śambhala in Relation to Their Antecedents in Hindu Mythology

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Abstract

The theme of the mythic journey has provided a powerful vehicle for symbolism expressing the deepest concerns of many different religious and cultural traditions. This dissertation examines the treatment and development of this theme in guidebooks to Śambhala, an earthly paradise of Indian and Tibetan mythology that is said to hold the highest of Buddhist teachings for a time in the future when Buddhism will be lost in the world outside. After presenting a survey of indigenous literature and translations of key Tibetan texts, the dissertation analyzes the myth of Śambhala into its three basic themes of the messianic history and prophecy, the earthly paradise, and the mythic journey. It traces the development of these themes in Tibet and examines the ways in which they have appropriated and transformed material from a variety of sources in Hindu mythology, including the prophecy of the Kalki avatar of Viṣṇu and itineraries to the northern paradise of Uttarakuru in the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata. This section includes translations from Sanskrit of pertinent passages from the two epics. Drawing on tension and interaction theories of metaphor, the dissertation goes on to formulate and apply the concept of metaphoric juxtaposition as a means of elucidating the underlying process governing the development of the mythic journey to Śambhala and the syncretism found in it. Starting from a comparison with the conquest and search of the four quarters in the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa, this part of the study shows how the two main guidebooks to Śambhala,

the Śambhala'i lam yig and Kalāpāvatāra, reflect the influence of juxtaposition with various conceptions of sādhana and mārga - ritual practice and the path to enlightenment in Buddhism. The concluding chapter extends the concept of metaphoric juxtaposition to the other two themes of the myth, showing how they have have been shaped by additional root metaphors of kingship and conquest. The conclusion points out the general nature of the approach developed in the dissertation and suggests a number of promising areas for its application in the analysis of doctrine, ritual, pilgrimage, and other religious and cultural phenomena.

Lewis Lancaster

For Diane, David, and Jonathan

who were with me on the way

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Chapter 1
Introduction

The theme of the mythic journey has provided a powerful vehicle for symbolism pertaining to the deepest concerns of widely differing cultures and traditions. Dante's The Divine Comedy, Bunyan's The Pilgrim's Progress, Attar's The Conference of the Birds, and the Chinese novel The Journey to the West come immediately to mind as examples of major works making use of this kind of symbolism.[1] The authors of all these works, with the possible exception of the last, have consciously used the theme of the journey to express various ideas connected with their respective traditions, especially those having to do with spiritual transformation and development. A letter attributed to Dante explicitly states that he intended The Divine Comedy to have four levels of meaning, which he called the narrative, allegorical, moral, and anagogical.[2] The terminology and stated intentions of Bunyan and Attar show that they composed their works as allegories for the Christian quest for salvation on the one hand and the Sufi path to mystical union or annihilation on the other. Even in the case of The Journey to the West, Anthony Yu has shown how the novel can be read on at least three different levels, "as a tale of physical travel and adventure, as a story of Buddhist karma and redemption, and as an allegory of philosophical and alchemical self-cultivation."[3]

None of the journeys in these works are fully mythic in the sense of both expressing deeper views of reality and being regarded as completely factual.[4] Although they make use of cosmologies, figures, and events that are accepted as actual, each is viewed at some level as the imaginative or fictional creation of its author. The journeys in all four works are literary and allegorical, their main import - and reality - lying at deeper levels than that

of literal description. Through their symbolism they point to fundamental truths, to views of the universe and man's place in it, that underlie the traditions in which they are found. A great deal of scholarship has been done on such literary journeys of an allegorical nature, that of Dante in particular, but not so much has been done on mythic journeys that combine both dimensions of reality - the literal and the symbolic.

This dissertation will examine a journey in the Tibetan Buddhist tradition that, although not as well-known, is fully mythic in the above sense of the word - a journey that both expresses a deeper reality and is taken as factual on all levels. This journey is found in guidebooks or lam yig describing the way to Śambhala, a mythical kingdom hidden behind snow mountains somewhere north of India and Tibet. Śambhala is an earthly paradise that preserves the highest Buddhist teachings, the Kālacakra Tantra in particular, for a time in the future when Buddhism will be destroyed in the world outside. The journey itself consists of natural and supernatural obstacles that can only be overcome through yogic practices and powers. As guides for yogins seeking the teachings in Śambhala in order to attain enlightenment for the sake of all beings, the guidebooks are replete with symbolism pertaining to the Buddhist mārga or path to Nirvāṇa.

Many of the features that form the basis of this symbolism appear in older myths of Hindu mythology. Śambhala, the goal of the journey itself, is found in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas as the name of the birthplace of Kalki, the future avatar of Viṣṇu who will put an end to the degenerate kali yuga and initiate the golden age of the kṛta yuga. The idea of an earthly paradise hidden far to the north appears elsewhere in the epic in the form of the northern land of Uttarakuru - possibly the prototype for later paradises and Pure Lands of Buddhist and Hindu mythology. Descriptions of the journey to Uttarakuru in the Rāmāyana, as well as the Mahābhārata, have a number of geographic and mythic features in common with the later Tibetan guidebooks to Śambhala. However, in the Buddhist myth these features have been elaborated and transformed in such a way that their symbolism has come to play a much more important role.

Like The Divine Comedy and The Conference of the Birds, the guidebooks to Śambhala use the theme of the mythic journey as a vehicle for expressing the most central concerns of their tradition. But they differ from those works in that Tibetans also regard them as factual descriptions of actual journeys. The value in studying the guidebooks to Śambhala lies in the light they can throw on religious and other phenomena that are not regarded as fictional and that are, therefore, more pervasive and widespread in their influence than are literary allegories. The study in this dissertation will focus, in particular, on the way in which such a mythic journey develops and how it relates to the views of reality that lie at the heart of a given culture or tradition.

1. Survey of Western Scholarship on the Myth of Śambhala

The first Western reference to Śambhala appears in letters by two Jesuit missionaries, João Cabral and Estevão Cacella. During a visit to Bhutan in 1627 they learned of the existence of "a country, very famous here, which is called Xembala [Śambhala] and which borders on another called Sopo [Sog po or Mongolia]." Thinking it was Cathay or China and seeking a route there, Cacella continued to Shigatse, where he was disabused of his misconception concerning the identity of Śambhala.[5]

The first Western scholar actually to do reseach on and write about Śambhala was the founder of the field of Tibetology, Alexander Csoma de Körös. Based on a reading of Tibetan texts, he concluded that Śambhala was "a fabulous country or city in the north beyond the Jaxartes."[6] In brief writings giving an overview of the myth, he makes reference to the teaching of the Kālacakra Tantra to the first king of Śambhala, its preservation in the kingdom, and the prophecy of the destruction of the forces of evil and the golden age to come.[7] According to Csoma, Tibetans have translated Śambhala as Bde 'byung, signifying 'origin or source of happiness'.[8]

The French missionary, M. Huc, in a book on his travels in Tibet in the eighteenth century, refers to what must be a garbled version of the prophecy of Śambhala. According to his account, the followers of the Panchen Lama form a society known as the 'Kelans', who believe that he will someday reincarnate in a country north of Tibet, from which he will summon them to help him to come forth to defeat the Chinese and establish a golden age of Buddhism throughout the world.[9] This account apparently refers to the standard Tibetan belief that the Panchen Lama will be reborn in the future as Raudra Cakrin or Drag po 'khor lo can, the king of Śambhala who will emerge from the kingdom at the head of a supernatural army to defeat the mlecchas and establish a golden age of Buddhist teachings.

The Indian scholar and secret agent Sarat Chandra Das travelled in Tibet in the late nineteenth century and reported efforts by the Chinese to use the prophecy of Śambhala for political purposes. According to his report, they had convinced the Tibetan government to remain aloof from Great Britain and Russia by spreading the belief that the the British and Russians were the mlecchas prophecied in the myth to take over the world and destroy Buddhism.[10] Back in India Das wrote an article on the lives of the Panchen Lamas in which he discussed an early incarnation as Yaśas, the first rigs ldan king of Śambhala.[11] In his dictionary he speculates that Śambhala may have been the capital of the eastern Greeks in Bactria and reports that Tibetans have tried to identify it with the capital of Spain. He also refers to and makes use of the Śambhala'i lam yig, a guidebook to the kingdom by the sixth Panchen Lama Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes.[12]

Around the beginning of the twentieth century, the Japanese Buddhist priest Ekai Kawaguchi visited Lhasa and reported another political use of Śambhala, this time by the Russians. According to his account, Dorjieff, a Russian agent and lama from Buryatia, had written and circulated a pamphlet identifying Russia with Śambhala since both lay to the north. It went on to argue that the Tsar was, therefore, a Buddhist king with whom Tibet should form an alliance. Kawaguchi added that the pamphlet existed in Tibetan, Mongolian, and Russian and that it located Śambhala three thousand miles northwest of

Bodhgaya - i.e. in the vicinity of Moscow and St. Petersburg.[13] Reports of Dorjieff's success in making the Dalai Lama favorably disposed toward the Russians and hostile toward the British prompted Lord Curzon to dispatch the well-known Younghusband Expedition to Lhasa in 1903.[14]

In 1907 Berthold Laufer stimulated Western scholarly interest in Śambhala by publishing the first work that included more than a brief reference to the myth - a German translation of part of a Tibetan guidebook to the kingdom. In his article he also recommended that scholars investigate the extensive Kālacakra texts and commentaries as a key to understanding many of the problems in the study of Central Asia.[15]

Not long thereafter, in 1914, Albert Grünwedel published a complete translation, in German, of the best-known and most popular guidebook to Śambhala in Tibet, the so-called Śambhala'i lam yig by the sixth Panchen Lama Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes.[16] Since the next chapter of the dissertation discusses this text in detail, we will only note here Grünwedel's reference in his introduction to a Russian book in St. Petersburg written by a lama attempting to trace the genealogy of the Romanov Dynasty back to Sucandra, the first important king of Śambhala.[17] He does not specify the name of the author, but it was probably Dorjieff or someone working with him in using the myth of Śambhala to bolster an alliance between the Tsar and the Dalai Lama. Grünwedel's translation of the Śambhala'i lam yig has been very influential: P. H. Pott in his book on yoga and tantra in Indian archeology makes extensive use of it, while Robert Bleichsteiner's summary of the Śambhala myth in his study of the Dge lugs pa sect and Siegbert Hummel's remarks on the apocalypse in Tibetan Buddhism rely exclusively on it.[18] Anne-Marie Large-Blondeau's references to Śambhala and the guidebook to it in her article on Tibetan pilgrimage are also based on Grünwedel's edition and translation of the Śambhala'i lam yig.[19] Johannes Schubert supplemented Grünwedel's work by publishing an edition and translation of another text by Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes, a prayer expressing a wish for rebirth as a disciple of the future king of Śambhala.[20]

The noted French Orientalist Paul Pelliot also took an interest in Śambhala and wrote an article on apparent references to its name in Chinese texts. His attempts to trace the word to various Chinese transcriptions were not, however, very convincing and led to no further research by other scholars in this area. He himself remarked that "it would be clearly premature to claim that the name of the mythical country of Śambhala is directly connected to these forms."[21]

Sir Charles Eliot devoted a couple of pages of his book on Hinduism and Buddhism to Śambhala and the Kālacakra Tantra.[22] He noted, in particular, the relation of the prophecy of Raudra Cakrin to that of Kalki, the future avatar of Viṣṇu, who will be born in Śambhalagrāma in Hindu mythology. He also drew attention to other possible Vaiṣṇavite influences on the Buddhist myth of Śambhala.

More substantial work on Śambhala and the Kālacakra Tantra was done by the Tibetologist George Roerich. Together with his father, Nicholas, a noted painter, poet, and mystic, he went on an expedition to Central Asia, Tibet, and Mongolia, where he collected oral material, texts, and paintings dealing with the myth.[23] His article on the Kālacakra, published in 1931, provided the first overview of Tibetan literature on the tantra and Śambhala and is still a useful reference work.[24] His later translation of the Blue Annals includes a chapter on the history of the Kālacakra teachings that provides additional material on the myth itself.[25]

Although he did not devote any research exclusively to it, Giuseppe Tucci does refer to Śambhala in his monumental work, Tibetan Painted Scrolls, which includes the reproduction of a Tibetan thang ka of the kingdom and a translation of a passage from Bu ston on the history of its kings.[26] He gives an overview of the myth and mentions a guidebook for a journey to Śambhala that begins from Mchod rten dkar po on the frontier between Tibet and China and proceeds eastward through Chinese territory.[27] In both the translation of Bu ston and his own comments on the subject, he takes the prophecy of Śambhala in the past tense as an event that has already occurred.[28] In Travels of Tibetan

Pilgrims in the Swat Valley, Tucci briefly compares itineraries to Śambhala and Uḍḍiyāna. He concludes that Dge lugs pa authors composed the former in order to have their equivalent of the latter and that both Śambhala and Uḍḍiyāna were actual countries that were later transformed into fairylands.[29] Although Tucci has written on Śambhala, the dissertation will draw more heavily on his work concerning the northern paradise of Uttarakuru.

R. A. Stein also refers tangentially to the myth of Śambhala, but he goes into it in more depth than does Tucci. In Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet, his massive study of the Tibetan epic, he sees it as an important influence in the process of syncretism leading to the emergence of Gesar as a warrior king of the north.[30] His notes and discussion of the kingdom in this regard provide a wealth of reference material on the myth and its relation to Hindu as well as Buddhist mythology.[31] In addition to drawing on this material, the dissertation will make use of Stein's work on the Gesar Epic itself as a model for approaching the development of the journey to Śambhala.

Helmut Hoffmann, on the other hand, has focused his attention directly on the myth of Śambhala and the Kālacakra Tantra. He has done unpublished research on the guidebooks to Śambhala, trying to trace their route through Central Asia, and on the prophecy of the apocalyptic battle and golden age to come.[32] Two books by him have sections on the kingdom and the transmission of the Kālacakra teachings from Śambhala to India and Tibet.[33] He has also published articles on the teaching of the Kālacakra to the first king of Śambhala at the stūpa of Dhānyakaṭaka and on the line of mleccha teachers given in the Kālacakratantrāja.[34]

The most exhaustive study of the stūpa of Dhānayakaṭaka and the Buddha's teaching of the Kālacakra is without question Ariane Macdonald's lengthy article on the subject. In addition to exploring an important episode in the mythical history of Śambhala, this article examines the implications of the Śambhala'i lam yig of the sixth Panchen Lama Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes and its references to the older guidebook by Man lung pa.[35]

In his study of Tibetan historical literature, A. I. Vostrikov deals with Tibetan authors who have written on Śambhala and the Kālacakra.[36] In particular, he summarizes the guidebook to the kingdom by the Sixth Panchen Lama Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes.[37] D. S. Ruegg has published articles and a translation of the life of Bu ston that touch on matters having to do with the history and nature of the Kālacakra and its transmission in India and Tibet.[38]

A number of scholars have dealt with various aspects of the Kālacakra. In his introduction to the Sekoddeśaṭīkā of Naḍapāda, Mario Carelli explores the nature of the Kālacakra Tantra and referred in passing to the myth of Śambhala.[39] Biswanath Bandyopadhyaya's article on the Kālacakra Tantra and its commentary probes more deeply into the history of the teachings in Śambhala, particularly the episode of Yaśas and the sages as recorded in the Vimalaprabhā.[40] However, neither work is very long nor detailed, particularly as regards the myth itself. Geshe Lhundup Sopa's recent article on the subtle body in Tantric Buddhism explores the doctrines and practices of the Kālacakra in much more depth, but makes no reference to Śambhala.[41] Lokesh Chandra's prefaces to published editions of the Kālacakratantrāja, the main text of the tantra, and selected volumes of the collected works of Bu ston provide a great deal of information regarding the myth of Śambhala as well as the Kālacakra teachings themselves.[42] Glen H. Mullin's translation of notes on the Kālacakra by the first Dalai Lama supplies important details on the practice of the tantra.[43] Recently a number of pamphlets and articles have appeared in connection with Kālacakra initiations given by the Dalai Lama and other important Tibetan lamas in India and the West.[44] Jeffrey Hopkins has just prepared a book focussed on the Kālacakra initiation itself.[45]

A number of scholars have dealt with other subjects pertaining to the Kālacakra: the systems of chronology, astronomy, and astrology associated with the tantra. Their works include brief references to Śambhala but add nothing of significance concerning the myth itself.[46]

The most comprehensive work on the Kālacakra as a whole, however, is a very recent collaborative work on the subject by Geshe Lhundub Sopa, Roger Jackson, and John Newman.[47] Presented from a traditional point of view, it covers the context, history, initiation, doctrines, and practice of the tantra. Newman's chapter, "A Brief History of the Kalachakra," includes a detailed account of the history and prophecy of Śambhala, as well as a description of the kingdom, mostly from a Dge lugs pa perspective.[48]

In a somewhat lighter vein, two articles by Turrell Wylie and Michael Oppitz explore interesting side issues concerning the myth of Śambhala. Wylie's article deals with the question of why Btsan po no mun han, the 19th century author of a well-known Tibetan geography of the world, maintained that Genoa, the birthplace of Christopher Columbus, was located in Śambhala.[49] Oppitz uses a semiological analysis to trace the chain of transformations leading from Śambhala to the icon of Shangri-La on a pin ball machine. His article examines the Tibetan myth in some detail, showing how it has influenced both messianic ideas in Tibet and the conception of Shangri-La in the Western novel Lost Horizon.[50]

Although this dissertation focuses on the development of the journey to Śambhala in Tibet and India, the myth has also been influential in Mongolia. George Roerich, C. R. Bawden, and Robert Rupen have noted the ways in which the messianic prophecy of Śambhala was used in the struggle for independence leading to the foundation of the Mongolian People's Republic in 1921; in subsequent efforts by the Communist Party to cut off the line of Khutuktus, the traditional lama rulers of the country; and in Japanese attempts to take over northern Asia in the 1930's.[51] Recent articles by C. Damdinsüren, a Mongolian scholar, examine the history of the Kālacakra Tantra and the myth of Śambhala in India, Tibet, and Mongolia.[52]

Finally, my own book, published in 1980, provides a comprehensive overview of the myth and an interpretation of its meaning and significance from both Tibetan and

Western points of view.[53] It makes use of a number of different oral and textual sources, many of them not dealt with previously in the literature, but it does not examine them systematically in terms of the order of their historical appearance and influence in India and Tibet.

Despite the work that has been done, a study of the development of the journey to Śambhala, as well as that of the myth as a whole, is still lacking. That there is a need for such a study is evident in the following remarks by Tucci:

> Śambhala, round like an eight-petalled lotus flower, has become, in the tradition, a heaven consecrated to the Kālacakra's glories. Like the country of Ḍākinī, U rgyan (Uḍḍīyāna), Śambhala is a place the devout try to reach, in order to be redeemed from sin; it was later transfigured into a distant heaven.[54]

and

> . . .nor do I know of any historical itinerary of that country [Śambhala]. This seems to point to the fact that the mystic significance of Śambhala developed at a later time, when any real and direct connection with the country had come to an end and the Tibetans had only to rely upon the information to be gathered from the Vimalaprabhā or from the earlier commentators of the Kālacakra Tantra.[55]

Hoffmann has noted, in a similar vein, that "the land of Shambhala is undoubtedly somewhere outside India, and originally it was in all probability a real area, whereas as time went on it faded into the idea of a purely mythical kingdom."[56] This dissertation will address the need for a study of the development of the journey to Śambhala by examining not only the way in which the myth has developed in Tibet, but also the ways in which it has incorporated older material from Hindu mythology in India.

2. Approach and Methodology

The dissertation will approach the development of the mythic journey to Śambhala in two stages, employing two kinds of methodology. The first stage will use standard philological and comparative methods to analyze the basic themes of the overall myth, trace the course of their development in Tibet, and examine their appropriation of features from antecedents in Hindu mythology. The methodology of this stage will use as a model Stein's study of the process of syncretism in the origin and development of the Gesar Epic in Tibet. The dissertation will also draw on Tucci's treatment of the northern paradise of Uttarakuru and its influence on later journeys and paradises in Hindu and Buddhist mythology. It will use his approach to analyze the development of the myth of Śambhala in India and Tibet. For reasons of time and feasibility, as well as pertinence to the aim of the study, the dissertation will not examine the influence of Iranian, Western, or Chinese sources.

The second stage of the dissertation will draw on the relationship between myth and metaphor to uncover and elucidate the process underlying the historical development traced in the first part. It will show, in particular, how juxtaposition with various conceptions of sādhana and mārga, ritual practice and the path to enlightenment, has shaped the overall structure of the mythic journey to Śambhala and governed the process of syncretism involved in its appropriation of features from antecedents in Hindu mythology.

There are many different and conflicting definitions of the nature and function of myths.[57] For our purposes we need one that highlights the relationship between myth and metaphor. Ian Barbour has broadly defined a living myth as "a story which is taken to manifest some aspect of the cosmic order."[58] A basic function of myths entailed by this definition - one that points to their relation to metaphors - is that they "provide a world-view, a vision of the basic structure of reality."[59] Emphasizing the importance of this

function, Raimundo Pannikkar has defined myth as "the horizon of intelligibility, or the sense of Reality, disclosed by a certain mythologumenon [or telling of the myth]."[60]

For the purpose of this dissertation, we will treat as myth a story, idea, or theme that is taken to be true on the immediate or literal level and that also expresses a view or sense of ultimate reality. A living myth of this kind embodies a culture's most basic assumptions or presuppositions - the givens that define the world in which one lives. It represents, therefore, the limit of questioning, beyond which one cannot go - if the myth is to remain a myth. The presuppositions which it expresses are held unconsciously or taken for granted and regarded as self-evident truths, much as the postulates of Euclidean geometry were until they were questioned by modern mathematics. Viewed from the outside, a myth may be factually true or false, but from the inside, for those for whom it is a living reality, it provides the basis for the criteria by which one determines truth and falsehood.[61]

According to the interaction or tension theory of metaphor first proposed by I. A. Richards and later developed by scholars such as Max Black and Paul Ricoeur, metaphors are more than ornaments of speech or elliptic similes.[62] They do not simply substitute one expression for another or point out similarities between different entities. Black argues that the interaction between the terms or subjects of a metaphor generates a new perspective on some object. In his example of 'man is a wolf', the system of implications associated with the subsidiary subject 'wolf' interacts with that associated with the primary subject 'man' to emphasize certain details, suppress others, and generally organize our view of the latter.[63] According to Ricoeur, the tension between the literal and metaphoric interpretations of a metaphor actually creates new meaning - "tells us something new about reality".[64] He locates the source of this creative tension in the metaphoric copula that states that something both is and is not the case.[65] George Lakoff and Mark Johnson have demonstrated how certain pervasive metaphors structure various aspects of thought, language, and experience in a given culture. According to them, "the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing or experience in terms of another."[66]

Drawing on these approaches, we will treat metaphor as the identification of similar but different phenomena in which one is viewed as or in terms of the other(s). The term *phenomena* here refers to things in general: words, concepts, and images as well as other objects of experience. The notion of viewing is also meant to be taken broadly to include experiencing or regarding in non-visual as well as visual ways. The emphasis on the role of identification distinguishes metaphors from similes: a true metaphor does not treat one phenomenon as like another but as another. In Black's example, man is not simply like a wolf, in some sense he *is* a wolf. According to our definition, metaphors are also more than linguistic devices: they provide ways of seeing and experiencing things. A metaphor can operate at a level more basic than that of conscious speech. Mary Gerhart and Allan Russell have focused their attention on the non-linguistic character of what they call "the metaphoric process". They regard metaphor as an act of thought that may or may not be expressed in words.[67] The advantage of this approach is that it allows us to examine the ways in which implicit or hidden metaphors have influenced the development of the mythic journey to Śambhala.[68]

Earl MacCormac takes an approach to myth that relates it explicitly to metaphor. In his view "myth is the false attribution of reality to a root metaphor."[69] He defines a root metaphor, in turn, as "the most basic assumption about the nature of the world or experience that we make when we try to give a description of it."[70] MacCormac's approach presumes that myths are automatically false and assumes that they are conscious creations of individuals who originally contrived and used them as useful fictions. As noted above, the presumption of falsehood is not always warranted, while the assumption of deliberate creation by a particular person or persons is extremely speculative and highly unlikely in most cases. However, despite these flaws in his approach, MacCormac does make two very useful points: one, that myth is related to a particular kind of metaphor - a root metaphor; and two, that the relationship between them is based on the ways in which they embody or express basic assumptions about the nature of reality.

Rather than define a root metaphor as a basic assumption, we will take it to be a primary metaphor that underlies and supports a superstructure of secondary metaphors, just as roots underly and support the trunk and branches of a tree. The root metaphor 'life is a journey' gives rise to a host of subsidiary metaphors such as 'life is a quest', 'life is an ascent', and so forth. Root metaphors attain their status by providing views of what is taken to be the basic nature of reality. Their relation to myths, which perform a similar function, is now apparent: a myth embodies or expresses a view of ultimate reality provided by a root metaphor.

The second stage of the dissertation in chapters 5 and 6 will use this relation of myth to metaphor to formulate the concept of metaphoric juxtaposition as the key to elucidating the development of the mythic journey to Śambhala. But before proceeding to that stage, we must first examine the textual sources of the myth itself and the ways in which its themes have developed in India and Tibet.

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[1]See, for example, the following translations and editions: Dante Alighieri, The Divine Comedy (Commedia), trans. Charles S. Singleton, 3 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970-75); John Bunyan, The Pilgrim's Progress, ed. James Blanton Wharey, 2nd ed. rev. Roger Sharrock (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960); Farid ud-Din Attar, The Conference of the Birds (Mantiq ut-Tair), trans. Afkham Darbandi and Dick Davis (New York: Penguin Classics, 1984); Anthony Yu, trans. and ed., The Journey to the West (Hsi-yu Chi), 4 vols. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1977-84).

[2]Many scholars contend that the letter, from Dante to his patron, Can Grande della Scala, is a forgery. For a discussion of that question and the levels of meaning, see Dante Alighieri, The Purgatorio, trans. John Ciardi (New York: New American Library, 1961), pp. 345 ff. Ciardi adds a fifth level, which he calls "the journey seen as a progress of soul". In any case, the four levels of meaning attributed to Dante were recognized during

the Middle Ages (see Henri de Lubac, Exégèse médiévale, les quatre sens de l'Écriture, 2 pts. in 4 vols. [Paris: Aubier, 1959-64]).

3Anthony C. Yu, "Two Literary Examples of Religious Pilgrimage: The Commedia and The Journey to the West," History of Religions 22, no. 3 (1983): 216.

4This aspect of the mythic journey - that it express a deeper view of reality and also be regarded as factual - reflects the nature of a living myth, one that is taken as fact. For a fuller view of the sense in which mythic is being used here, see the discussion of myth later in this chapter.

5George Roerich, "Studies in the Kālacakra," Journal of Urusvati Himalayan Research Institute of Roerich Museum 2 (1931): 15-16. Translations of the letters and copies of the original Portuguese appear in C. Wessels, Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia, 1603-1721 (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1924), pp. 144, 314 ff.

6Alexander Csoma de Körös, A Grammar of the Tibetan Language in English (Calcutta, 1834; repr., New York: Altai Press, Triad Reprints), p. 192 n. 4. The Jaxartes, which he identifies with the River Sītā of the Tibetan texts, is the Syr Darya River of Soviet Central Asia. Csoma referred to works by Tibetan authors such as Padma Dkar po and Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, which the next chapter will examine.

7The forces of evil are called kla klos in Tibetan, mlecchas in Sanskrit. They are destined to take over the world and destroy Buddhism outside Śambhala. Their defeat by Raudra Cakrin, a future king of Śambhala, will result in a golden age of Buddhist teachings. See chapter 3 below.

8Csoma de Körös, Grammar of the Tibetan Language, p. 192 n. 4., and "Notes on the Origin of the Kāla-Chakra and Adi-Buddha Systems," Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 2, no. 14 (1833): 57.

9M. Huc, Recollections of a Journey through Tartary, Thibet, and China, trans. P. Smith (New York: D. Appleton Company, 1866), pp. 162-64. Panchen Lama in transliteration is Paṇ chen bla ma - for well-known and/or contemporary lamas, this dissertation uses

more or less phonetic renderings of their names and titles, especially if that is how they themselves spell them in Roman script.

[10]Sarat Chandra Das, Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet (London: John Murray, 1902), p. 181. Das reported that the Chinese made use of a widespread belief already held by Tibetans that the Panchen Lama would retire to Śambhala in two hundred years.

[11]Sarat Chandra Das, Contributions on the Religion and History of Tibet (New Delhi: Manjuśri Publishing House, 1970), pp. 81-82. Yaśas is regarded as the second incarnation in the line of the Panchen Lamas. Tibetans also believe that the Panchen Lama will be reborn as Raudra Cakrin, the 25th rigs ldan king who will come out of Śambhala to establish the golden age. For this reason the seat of the Panchen Lamas, Bkra shis lhun po, was, until 1959, the center of Tibetan interest in Śambhala.

[12]Sarat Chandra Das, A Tibetan-English Dictionary, with Sanskrit Synonyms, rev. and ed. Graham Sandberg and A. William Heyde. (Repr., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1976), p. 1231. See the next chapter for a discussion of the guidebook to Śambhala.

[13]Ekai Kawaguchi, Three Years in Tibet (Benares and London: Theosophical Publishing House, 1909), pp. 497 ff. Kawaguchi calls Dorjieff Tsan-ni Kenbo, referring to his title as a tutor of the Dalai Lama. Kawaguchi may have been himself an agent. His report of Dorjieff's activities to Sarat Chandra Das probably helped to arouse Lord Curzon's concern.

[14]On Dorjieff and his role in prompting the Younghusband Expedition, see Sir Charles Bell, Tibet: Past and Present (Oxford: Clarendon, 1924), pp. 62 ff.

[15]Berhold Laufer, "Zur buddhistischen Litterarur der Uiguren," T'oung Pao, ser. 2, vol. 3 (1907): pp. 402-07. Laufer's Tibetan text had no author nor date, but he concludes on the basis of a description of Peking in another section that it was composed in the thirteenth century. As the next chapter shows, the guidebook turns out to have indeed been written in the thirteenth century by a well-known Tibetan lama and traveller named

Man lung pa. The chapter includes a translation of the portions of the text pertaining to the journey to Śambhala.

[16]Albert Grünwedel, ed. and trans., Der Weg nach Śambhala, Abhandlungen der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 29, no. 3 (Munich, 1915).

[17]Ibid., pp. 3-4.

[18] P. H. Pott, Yoga and Yantra: Their Interrelation and Their Significance for Indian Archaeology, trans. Rodney Needham (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1966); Robert Bleichsteiner, L'Église jaune, trans. Jacques Marty (Paris: Payot, 1950); Siegbert Hummel, "Anmerkungen zur Apokalypse des Lamaismus," Archiv Orientální 26, no. 2 (1958): 186-96. In fact, a great deal of subsequent Western scholarship on Śambhala has merely repeated or reworked Grünwedel's translation, without examining other texts or adding anything new.

[19]Anne-Marie Large-Blondeau, "Les pèlerinages tibétains," in Les pèlerinages, Sources Orientales 3 [Paris: Edition du Seuil, 1960], pp. 224-25. She includes a translation of a passage describing the kingdom itself.

[20]Johannes Schubert, "Das Wunschgebet um Shambhala," Mitteilungen des Instituts fur Orientforschung, Band 1 (1953), pp. 424-473. The prayer is the famous so-called Śambhala'i smon lam (see discussion of it in the next chapter).

[21]Paul Pelliot, "Quelques transcriptions apparentées a Çambhala dans les textes chinois," T'oung Pao 20, no. 2 (1920-21): 84. Pelliot notes that he actually wrote the article in 1914. He did not, therefore, have Grünwedel's translation available at the time.

[22]Sir Charles Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism: An Historical Sketch, vol. 3 (London: Edward Arnold, 1921), pp. 386-87.

[23]For an account of the expedition and Tibetan and Mongolian material on the myth of Śambhala, see George Roerich, Trails to Inmost Asia (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930). Nicholas Roerich had a deep interest in Śambhala, which he regarded as the ultimate symbol binding together the spiritual quests of all religious traditions; he

published a poetic, but not scholarly, book on the subject - The Heart of Asia (New York: Roerich Museum Press, 1930). The paintings of Śambhala and its kings brought back by the Roerichs are now in the Roerich Museum in New York and at Brandeis University.

[24]Georges de Roerich, "Studies in the Kālacakra," Journal of Urusvati Himalayan Research Institute of Roerich Museum 2 (1931): 11-23.

[25]George N. Roerich, trans., The Blue Annals, 2nd ed. (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, rep. Motilal Banarsidass, 1979), pp. 753-838.

[26]Giuseppe Tucci, Tibetan Painted Scrolls (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1949), 2: 598-599; Tanka no. 178, plates 211-13.

[27]Ibid., pp. 598-599, 617 n. 289. The overview of the myth appears in his description of the painting of Śambhala and includes an account of the episode of Yaśas and the sages, as well as the battle between Raudra Cakrin and the mlecchas. The guidebook bears the title Śambhala'i lam yig and has no author: it is clearly the guidebook by Man lung pa translated in part by Laufer, which also begins with an itinerary for a journey that starts at Mchod rten dkar po and proceeds eastward. However, that itinerary comes in the first chapter, which describes the eastern direction, not in the fourth chapter describing the journey to Śambhala in the northern direction. See the discussion and translation of Man lung pa's guidebook to Śambhala in chapter 2 of the dissertation below.

[28]Ibid., 1: 212, 2: 599. Tucci has taken 'joms par byed in Bu ston's text as the past perfect 'conquered' whereas it is actually the imperfect 'conquers', referring to a future time in this case. The passage is speaking here of the conquest of the mlecchas by Raudra Cakrin, the future king of Śambhala.

[29]Giuseppe Tucci, Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims in the Swat Valley, Greater Indian Studies, no. 2 (Calcutta: The Greater India Society, 1940), pp. 2-4. Tucci associates Uḍḍiyāna, the place of the ḍākinī, with the Rnying ma and Bka' rgyud sects and Śambhala with the Dge lugs sect. However, all four major sects of Tibetan Buddhism have taken an interest in Śambhala and have their traditions of Kālacakra teachings. The Kālacakra is, in fact,

more important and widespread than earlier Western scholars have assumed. Recently, in addition to the Dalai Lama, who is a Dge lugs pa, both Sa skyas and Bka' rgyud lamas have given Kālacakra initiations in America. Tāranātha, who translated the Kalāpāvatāra and wrote extensively on the Kālacakra, was a Jo nang pa, a member of a sect later suppressed by the Dge lugs pas (see D. S. Ruegg, "The Jo nang pas: A School of Buddhist Ontologists According to the Grub mtha' shel gyi me long," Journal of the American Oriental Society 83, no. 1 (1963), pp. 73-91.

[30]R. A. Stein, Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1959), pp. 524-28 in particular. In these pages, Stein also looks at the influence of the myth of Śambhala on the figure of Gesar's horse.

[31]Additional material on Śambhala and its relation to Gesar and the bard is found in R. A. Stein, L'épopée tibétaine de Gésar dans sa version lamaïque de Ling (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1956). Alexandra David-Neel also touches on the relation between Gesar and Śambhala in the introduction to her rendition of the Tibetan epic (Alexandra David-Neel and Lama Yongden, The Superhuman Life of Gesar of Ling, trans. with Violet Sydney [London, 1934; repr., Boulder: Prajñā Press, 1981], pp. 44-45).

[32]Personal correspondence.

[33]Helmut Hoffmann, The Religions of Tibet, trans. E. Fitzgerald (New York: Macmillan, 1961), pp. 123-30; Idem., Tibet: A Handbook, Indian University Asian Studies Research Institute, Oriental Series 5 (Bloomington, Indiana: Research Center for the Language Sciences, n.d.), pp. 142-46. Other works by Hoffmann on the Kālacakra are: Idem., "Literarhistorische Bemerkungen zur Sekoddeśaṭīkā des Nāḍapāda," Beiträge zur indischen Philologie und Altertumskunde. Festschrift Walther Schubring (Hamburg, 1951), pp. 140-47; Idem., "Das Kālacakra, die letzte Phase des Buddhismus in Indien," Saeculum 15 (1964): 125-31.

[34]Helmut Hoffmann, "Buddha's Preaching of the Kālacakra Tantra at the Stūpa of Dhānyakaṭaka," in German Scholars on India (Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1973), pp. 136-40, and "Kālacakra Studies I: Manichaeism, Christianity, and Islam in the Kālacakra Tantra," Central Asiatic Journal 13, no. 1 (1969): 52-75

[35]Ariane Macdonald, "Le Dhānyakaṭaka de Man-lungs Guru," Bulletin de l' École Française d'Extrême-Orient 57 (1970): 169-213. Articles by other scholars on the subject include the following: Klaus Hahlweg, "Der Dhānyakaṭaka-Stūpa," Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft 115 (1965): 320-26; André Bareau, "Le stūpa de Dhānyakaṭaka selon la tradition tibétaine," Arts Asiatiques 16 (1967): 81-88.

[36]A. I. Vostrikov, Tibetan Historical Literature, trans. Harish Chandra Gupta, Soviet Indology Series, no. 4 (Calcutta: Indian Studies; Past and Present, 1970).

[37]Ibid., pp. 231-32.

[38]Ruegg, "The Jo nang pas," pp. 73-91; Idem., "Deux problèmes d'exégèse et de pratique tantriques," in Tantric and Taoist Studies, ed. Michel Strickmann, Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques 20 (Bruxelles: Institut Belges des haut tudes chinois, 1982), 1:212-26; Idem., The Life of Bu ston Rin po che, Serie Orientale Roma 34 (Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1966).

[39]Mario Carelli, ed., Introduction to Sekoddeśaṭīkā of Naḍapāda (Nāropā) (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1941).

[40]Biswanath Bandyopadhyaya, "A Note on the Kālacakratantra and Its Commentary," Journal of the Asiatic Society, Letters 18, no. 2 (1952), pp. 71-76.

[41]Geshe Lhundup Sopa, "An Excursus on the Subtle Body in Tantric Buddhism (Notes Contextualizing the Kālacakra)," The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies 6, no. 2 (1983): 48-66. Geshe Sopa gives a detailed analysis of the practices involved in the completion stage (sampannakrama) of the Kālacakra as well other anuttara tantras such as the Guhyasamāja.

[42]Prefaces to Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra, ed., Kālacakra-tantrāja and Other Texts, Pt. 1 (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1966), and Lokesh Chandra, ed., The Collected Works of Bu-ston, Pts. 1 and 4 (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1965).

[43]Glenn H. Mullin, trans., Bridging the Sutras and Tantras: A Collection of Ten Minor Works by Gyalwa Gendun Drub, the First Dalai Lama (1391-1474) (Ithaca, N.Y.: Gabriel/Snow Lion, 1982), pp. 115-156

[44]Ngawang Dhargyey, "An Introduction to and Outline of the Kalacakra Initiation," trans. Sherpa Tulku, A. Berzin, and J. Landaw, The Tibet Journal 1, no. 1 (1975): 72-77; Kalachakra Initiation: Madison, 1981 (Madison: Deer Park, 1981); Nālandā Translation Committee, trans., The Kālacakra Empowerment Taught by the Venerable Kalu Rinpoche (San Francisco: Kagyu Drden Kunchab, 1982)

[45]Jeffrey Hopkins, The Kalachakra Tantra (London: Wisdom Books, 1985) - a copy was not available for me to consult at the time of writing this dissertation, but it is reported to include a translation of the initiation conducted by the Dalai Lama with notes and commentary by Hopkins.

[46]Paul Pelliot, "Le cycle sexagénaire dans la chronologie tibétaine," Journal Asiatique 11, no. 1 (1913): 633-67; Berthold Laufer, "The Application of the Tibetan Sexagenary Cycle," T'oung Pao 14 (1913): 569-96; Baron Alexander von Staël-Holstein, "On the Sexagenary Cycle of the Tibetans," Monumenta Serica 1 (1935-36): 277-314; Claus Vogel, "On Tibetan Chronology," Central Asiatic Journal 9, no. 3 (1964): 224-38; Winfried Petri, "Uigur and Tibetan Lists of the Lunar Mansions," Indian Journal of History of Science 1 (1966): 83-90, and "Tibetan Astronomy," Vistas in Astronomy 9 (1968): 159-64.

[47]Geshe Lhundub Sopa, Roger Jackson, and John Newman, The Wheel of Time: The Kalachakra in Context (Madison, Wis. : Deer Park, 1985). The work is divided into five chapters each written by an individual author.

[48]John Newman, "A Brief History of the Kalachakra," in Ibid., pp. 51-84.

[49]Turrell V. Wylie, "Was Christopher Columbus from Shambhala?" Bulletin of the Institute of China Border Area Studies, no. 1 (1970): 24-33. The text and translation of the Tibetan geography appears in Idem., ed. and trans., The Geography of Tibet According to the 'Dzam-gling rgyas-bshad (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1963).

[50]Michael Oppitz, "Shangri-La, le panneau de marque d'un flipper: analyse sémiologique d'un mythe visuel," L'Homme 14, nos. 3-4 (1974): 59-83. I have been unable to find evidence that James Hilton, the author of Lost Horizon, ever heard of Śambhala. In an interview published in the New York Times (July 26, 1936), Pt. IX, p. 3, Hilton said that he spent a month and a half doing research on Tibet in the British Museum Library and got a great deal of his material from the accounts of Catholic missionaries, M. Huc in particular.

[51]George Roerich, Trails to Inmost Asia, p. 157; C. R. Bawden, The Modern History of Mongolia (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968), pp. 262-63; Robert A. Rupen, Mongols of the Twentieth Century, Indiana University Publications Uralic and Altaic Series 37, pt. 1 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1964), pp. 227-28.

[52]C. Damdinsüren, "Śambhala, the Happy Land of the Legends," Zentralasiatische Studien 11 (1977): 351-87, and "A Commentary on Kalacakra or Wheel of Time," The Tibet Journal 6, no. 1 (1981): 43-49.

[53]Edwin Bernbaum, The Way to Shambhala (Garden City, N. Y.: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1980).

[54]Tucci, Tibetan Painted Scrolls 2, p. 598.

[55]Tucci, Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims, p. 3.

[56]Hoffmann, Religions of Tibet, p. 125.

[57]G. S. Kirk has written a brief but comprehensive survey and critique of various definitions and theories of myth (G. S. Kirk, "On Defining Myths," in Sacred Narrative:

Readings in the Theory of Myth, ed. Alan Dundes [Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984], pp. 53-61). For a more extensive, if somewhat biased, treatment of the subject see his Myth: Its Meaning and Functions in Ancient and Other Cultures (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973). Dundes, Sacred Narrative, is an anthology of various writings on myth emphasizing the theories of folklore and anthropology, but including other approaches as well, such as those of Mircea Eliade and Carl Jung.

58Ian G. Barbour, Myths, Models and Paradigms: The Nature of Scientific and Religious Language (London: SCM Press, 1974), pp. 19-20.

59Ibid.

60Raimundo Panikkar, "Śunaḥśepa. A Myth of the Human Condition," in Myth, Faith, and Hermeneutics (New York: Paulist Press, 1979), p. 101.

61For a similar view, to which I am partially indebted, see Ibid., pp. 98-101.

62For a survey of developments in the theory of metaphor see Mark Johnson, "Introduction: Metaphor in the Philosophical Tradition," in Philosophical Perspectives on Metaphor, ed. Mark Johnson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1981), pp. 3-44. I. A. Richards presented his seminal ideas on metaphor in I. A. Richards, The Philosophy of Rhetoric (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936), pp. 87-112.

63Max Black, "Metaphor," in Philosophical Perspectives on Metaphor, ed. Mark Johnson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1981), pp. 72-77. Black points out in passing a point that we will develop further in chapter 5: that the secondary subject is in turn influenced by the primary subject to which it is applied - "If to call a man a wolf is to put him in a special light, we must not forget that the metaphor makes the wolf seem more human than he otherwise would" (Ibid., p. 77).

64Paul Ricoeur, "Metaphor and Symbol," in Idem., Interpretation Theory: Discourse and the Surplus of Meaning (Fort Worth, Texas: The Texas Christian University Press, 1976), pp. 51-53. In that article Ricoeur argues that the tension actually occurs not between the

two terms of a metaphor but between two opposed interpretations of it. The absurdity of the literal interpretation causes it to self-destruct and open the way for a metaphorical interpretation with a new field of reference.

[65]In The Rule of Metaphor, trans. Robert Czerny et al (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), pp. 247-49, Ricoeur identifies three kinds of tension - tension within the metaphorical statement, tension between two interpretations, and tension in the relational function of the copula - and adds that the copula is not only relational but existential - "it implies besides, by means of the predicative relationship, that what is is redescribed."

[66]George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, "Conceptual Metaphor in Everyday Language," in Philosophical Perspectives on Metaphor, ed. Mark Johnson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1981), p. 289. A fuller treatment of their thesis appears in Idem., Metaphors We Live By (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

[67]Mary Gerhart and Allan Melvin Russell, Metaphoric Process: The Creation of Scientific and Religious Understanding (Fort Worth, Texas: Texas Christian University Press, 1984), pp. 105-09.

[68]It is important to note that metaphors are not necessarily conscious and may not be even perceived as metaphors by those for whom they provide a view of reality. In fact, from one point of view, certain metaphors, like the 'myths' of mythology, exists as metaphors for the observer, not the participant, so to speak. The participant sees the two terms of this kind of metaphor as one and the same, not as two separate things brought together. We are speaking here of pervasive, lived metaphors rather than metaphors consciously created for a particular purpose in a poem or other literary work.

[69]Earl MacCormac, Metaphor and Myth in Science and Religion (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1976), p. 111. MacCormac also defines myth as "the mistaken attribution of reality to a diaphoric [i.e., suggestive] metaphor" and as "the consequence of attributing reality to a suggestive metaphor" (Ibid., pp. 102, 104). He draws his approach from Colin Turbayne who argues in The Myth of Metaphor (Columbia, S.C.: University

of South Carolina Press, 1970) that erroneous metaphysical assumptions (i.e. myths) arise from forgetting the "as if" aspect of metaphors used originally as heuristic devices and taking them literally.

[70]MacCormac, Myth and Metaphor, p. 93.

Chapter 2
Texts and Translations

1. Survey of Literature on Śambhala

A large and diverse collection of works deals with various aspects of the myth of Śambhala. This extensive body of literature breaks down into two basic categories, one composed of Sanskrit texts from India, translated for the most part into Tibetan, and the other made up of indigenous works written in Tibet. Most of the texts in the second category derive either directly or indirectly from those in the first. The survey that follows examines the works that are either the most revealing or the most influential in terms of the development of the myth of Śambhala.

Indian Texts

The Tibetan Canon includes a large number of works on the Kālacakra Tantra that have some bearing on the myth of Śambhala.[1] Most of these works contain only passing references to the kingdom and have not significantly influenced subsequent literature on the subject. Three, however, have fairly extensive references to the myth and have exerted a considerable influence on later Tibetan texts dealing with Śambhala.

The first, and most basic, of the three is the abridged root or <u>mūla</u> <u>tantra</u> of the Kālacakra, the <u>Kālacakratantrarāja</u>.[2] This text, the only surviving version, albeit abridged, of the original Kālacakra Tantra, is the record of a conversation between Śākyamuni Buddha and Sucandra, the first significant king of Śambhala, who is supposed to have

received the tantra from the Buddha at the stūpa of Dhānyakaṭaka in southern India.[3] The first chapter, the Lokadhātupatala, includes a brief, somewhat confused, description of Śambhala, and a much more extensive account of the history and prophecy of the kingdom, focusing on the future battle with the mlecchas and the nature of the golden age to follow.

The Kālacakratantrarāja survives in both Sanskrit and Tibetan versions.[4] Somanātha and others translated the text into Tibetan and introduced it from India into Tibet around A.D. 1026.[5] Since the Kālacakratantrāja mentions the appearance of Muhammad in Mecca, the original Sanskrit was probably composed sometime between the seventh and eleventh centuries, most probably in the tenth century when the tantra was introduced into India by Indian pandits who reportedly brought it back from Śambhala.[6]

The second influential Indian text is the well-known commentary on the root tantra, the Vimalaprabhā, attributed to the Puṇḍarīka, the second rigs ldan or kalki king of Śambhala.[7] This text is a major source for later Tibetan commentaries on the Kālacakra and includes extensive passages on Śambhala. The Vimalaprabhā presents a more complete and comprehensible account of the kingdom than does the Kālacakratantrarāja, including a detailed description of the Kālacakra maṇḍalas constructed there by two kings of Śambhala. The text deals extensively with the history of Śambhala and focuses a great deal of attention on an incident between dissident brahmarṣis and the first kalki king, Yaśas. In the myth this incident results in the establishment of a single vajra clan or family among the inhabitants of Śambhala and a condensed simplification of the Kālacakra Tantra.[8]

Like the Kālacakratantrarāja the Vimalaprabhā also survives in Tibetan and Sanskrit.[9] The Tibetan translation in the Peking Canon is attributed to Somanātha and was introduced into Tibet at the same time as the Kālacakratantrarāja, in the eleventh century. The original Sanskrit also postdates the rise of Islam in the seventh century and was probably composed shortly after the Kālacakratantrarāja, perhaps in the tenth century.

The third influential Indian text is the Kalāpāvatāra, an itinerary or guidebook to Kalāpa, the capital city and palace of Śambhala.[10] This text, translated into Tibetan by Tāranātha in the seventeenth century, provided the basis for the best-known and most important guidebook to Śambhala in Tibetan literature, the so-called Śambhala'i lam yig composed by the sixth Panchen Lama, Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes in 1775.[11] As the dissertation will be presenting a full translation of the Kalāpāvatāra, we will postpone a discussion of its nature.

Unlike the above two texts, the Kalāpāvatāra survives only in Tibetan translation. Since the dating of the original Sanskrit is problematic, that too will be postponed to a later discussion. As the next chapter will show, there is evidence that the Sanskrit version may be much older than the Tibetan translation and may even predate the composition of the Kālacakratantrarāja and the Vimalaprabhā.

Indigenous Tibetan Texts

This section will present a survey of representative indigenous texts and other sources pertaining to the myth of Śambhala. It will examine these texts by category and author in chronological order, beginning with literature deriving directly from the Indian texts surveyed above.

Kālacakra Commentaries and Subcommentaries

The first commentaries to consider are Bu ston rin chen grub's well-known and influential versions of the Kālacakratantrarāja and Vimalaprabhā with interpolated notes of his own composition.[12] Along with his many other accomplishments, Bu ston was a noted scholar and authority, as well as practitioner, of the Kālacakra Tantra.[13] The Tibetan translations used by him are essentially those found in the standard Peking Canon,

but with some differences that prove very revealing in terms of demonstrating the influence of symbolism on the development of the myth of Śambhala. Given the corrupt and cryptic nature of the original Sanskrit and the sometimes confused character of the Tibetan translations of the Kālacakratantrarāja and Vimalaprabhā, Bu ston's interpolations are very helpful for understanding them and have been a major influence on later authors. Bu ston lived between A.D. 1290 and 1364. These two works date from the first half of the fourteenth century.

However, the most influential text in this category must be the Dus 'khor ṭīk chen, a massive subcommentary on the Vimalaprabhā composed by Mkhas grub dge legs dpal bzang po, better known as Mkhas grub rje.[14] In addition to extensive discussions of the history and prophecy of Śambhala, this text includes important accounts of legendary journeys of Indian pandits to Śambhala in search of the Kālacakra teachings. These accounts have been translated by George Roerich and provide some of the earliest extant versions of the journey to the hidden kingdom.[15] Mkhas grub rje's subcommentary has served as a basic source for numerous later Tibetan authors, particularly those of the Dge lugs sect. The sixth Panchen Lama, Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes, in particular, drew on this work extensively for his account of the history and prophecy of Śambhala in the Śambhala'i lam yig. According to Tucci, Mkhas grub rje "is remembered in history above all as the subtle interpreter of the Vimalaprabhā."[16] Mkhas grub rje lived between 1385 and 1438. The Dus 'khor ṭīk chen is dated 1434.[17]

A slightly later commentary on the Kālacakra, the Dus 'khor spyi don bstan pa'i rgya mtsho by Stag tshang lo tsā ba, also provides an important account of the history and prophecy of Śambhala.[18] It includes a general description of the kingdom and an important legend about the founding of Śambhala by Śākya Śambha, a relative of the Buddha who escaped the slaughter of the Śākya clan by King Virūḍhaka. Stag tshang took this legend from an earlier version in Bu ston.[19] The text was composed by Stag

tshang in 1467, only thirty-three years after Mkhas grub rje finished his subcommentary on the Vimalaprabhā.

Two considerably later works by Klong rdol bla ma, the Dus kyi 'khor lo'i lo rgyus dang Śambhala'i zhing bkod bcas and Dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i ming gi rnam grangs, have become the most widely consulted texts in this category - by both Tibetan and Western scholars.[20] These commentaries on the Kālacakra and Śambhala present a good compilation and summary of earlier works on the subjects in a particularly clear and easy-to-read style. Together they provide a detailed description and history of the kingdom. Klong rdol bla ma lived between 1719 and 1805, so these works date to the second half of the eighteenth century and are contemporaneous with the composition of the famous Śambhala'i lam yig by Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes. The Dus kyi 'khor lo'i lo rgyus dang Śambhala'i zhing bkod bcas actually includes a copy of the Śambhala'i smon lam, a famous prayer to Śambhala by Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes.[21]

Doctrinal Histories[22]

The earliest work we will consider in this category, the Sdom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba by the well-known scholar and statesman, Sa skya paṇḍita kun dga' rgyal mtshan (Sakya Pandita), includes a brief reference to Śambhala and its location in a discussion of the cosmographies of the Kālacakra and the Abhidharma.[23] According to Sakya Pandita's reconciliation of the two systems, Śambhala lies beyond nine black mountains in the vicinity of Ri bo gangs can.[24] Sakya Pandita lived between 1182 and 1251. His text dates to the first half of the thirteenth century.

The next work to consider, Bu ston's celebrated introduction to the Kālacakra, the Dus 'khor chos 'byung, has a synopsis of the history and prophecy of Śambhala.[25] The sections on the transmission of the tantra to India and Tibet include accounts of journeys to the kingdom by Indian pandits in search of the teaching.[26] The text has been an influential

work for later Tibetan authors - Mkas grub rje drew his accounts of the same pandits' journeys directly from it.[27]

The Deb ther sngon po or The Blue Annals by 'Gos lo tsā ba gzhon nu dpal has an extensive chapter on the history of the Kālacakra in India and Tibet.[28] Although it does not contain much on Śambhala itself, it includes accounts of various Indian pandits who were supposed to have gone there for the teaching. It also includes references to Man lung pa, who wrote a guidebook to Śambhala that will be examined later in this chapter.[29] The Blue Annals themselves were composed between 1476 and 1478.

Pad ma dkar po's noted history of Buddhism, the Chos 'byung, includes a general description and history of the kings of Śambhala, along with the prophecy of the battle and golden age to come.[30] This work again has been influential for later Tibetans. The text was composed in 1575 and revised in 1580.

In addition to numerous works on the doctrines and practice of the Kālacakra, Tāranātha composed a history of the teaching and its spread to India and Tibet.[31] Stag tshang lo tsā ba makes frequent references to this text in his work on the Kālacakra.[32] Tāranātha's history dates from the first part of the seventeenth century.

The Dpag bsam ljon bzang by Sum pa khan po ye shes dpal 'byor contains a history of Buddhism with sections on Śambhala.[33] The text was written in 1747 and is a popular source for Tibetan and Western scholars. His chronological table lists various kings of Śambhala and the years in which they ascended to the throne.[34]

The late, but influential, Shel gyi me long by Thu'u bkwan blo bzang chos kyi nyima has an entire chapter devoted to the spread of Buddhism in the northern countries of Śambhala and Mongolia.[35] This chapter includes a description of the kingdom itself and a fairly long account of its history and prophecy. Like most of the works above, it adds little to earlier versions of the myth. The text was written in 1802.

A contemporary Tibetan version of the myth appears in an article on Śambhala written by Garje Khamtrul in Tibetan and published in English in The Tibet Journal.[36]

The article begins with a sketch of the universe according to the Kālacakra system, followed by a description of Śambhala and an account of the history and prophecy of the kingdom. Garje Khamtrul draws on oral teachings as well as written sources. This work was published in 1973 and shows the continuing importance of the myth as a living tradition today.

Astrological and Medical Texts

Many Tibetan astrological and medical texts belong to the Kālacakra teachings said to have come from Śambhala. As a consequence, they tend to include references to the myth as a means of establishing their own authority and legitimacy.

The most important of these texts is the major Tibetan work on astrology, the Vaiḍūrya dkar po by Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho.[37] The text opens with the history and prophecy of Śambhala and is illustrated with block prints of the kings and other important figures in that sacred history. Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho composed this work between 1683 and 1685.

Prayers[38]

Prayers expressing wishes for rebirth in Śambhala or in the future war against the mlecchas have enjoyed considerable popularity among Tibetan laity, as well as clergy. These prayers are the best-known and most widespread genre of indigenous works dealing with the myth.

Two of these prayers stand out for their importance and influence among Tibetans. The older of the two, the Śambhalar skye ba'i smon lam, was composed by Blo bzang dam chos rgya mtsho in a particularly beautiful and poetic style.[39] In expressing its wish

for rebirth in Śambhala, it contains a long description of the kingdom, along with an account of the history and prophecy. It was composed sometime after 1595.

The second prayer, the famous Śambhala'i smon lam by the Panchen Lama Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes, is by far the most popular and influential of such prayers.[40] It too describes the kingdom, albeit more briefly, along with the history and prophecy, which it narrates in more detail. The prayer expresses a wish for rebirth at the time of the future battle as the foremost among the disciples of the king of Śambhala. Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes composed it around the time he wrote his guidebook to Śambhala in 1775.[41]

Autobiographies/Biographies[42]

The biographies and autobiographies of various lamas have accounts of dream and visionary journeys to Śambhala, often for the purpose of receiving a teaching. We will note here two representative accounts, one by Tāranātha and the other by Garje Khamtrul, a contemporary lama.

Tāranātha's Gsang ba'i rnam thar or Secret Autobiography includes a brief account of a dream journey to Śambhala in which he was guided to the kingdom by a white boy with the body of an athlete. There he saw the palace of Kalāpa and met the rigs ldan king himself. Just at the point at which he was about to receive an initiation, his attendant entered his room and woke him up.[43] Tāranātha's dream is of particular importance as evidence of his deep interest in Śambhala, which led him to translate the Kalāpāvatāra. He had this dream in 1611 at the age of thirty-seven.

The second dream comes from an oral account given by the dreamer himself.[44] This account is much longer than Tāranātha's and is filled with vivid imagery and symbolism. In his dream the dreamer, Garje Khamtrul, was led by the female Bodhisattva Tārā to his root lama in Śambhala, from whom he received the teachings of the complete path to enlightenment based on the sādhana of Avalokiteśvara. His account of what he

experienced includes a description of the journey as well as the kingdom itself. Following instructions given him in the dream by Avalokiteśvara, he wrote it down after waking up, but later lost the text in his flight from Tibet to India. His account is particularly valuable as an example of the role and power of the myth of Śambhala in the personal lives of Tibetans: Garje Khamtrul made the teachings he received the basis of his subsequent spiritual practice. He also convinced others to follow prophecies he received in the dream and flee Tibet in time to escape the Chinese takeover of his region of Litang. The dream itself occurred in 1948.

Epic and Poetic Works

The well-known Gesar Epic of Tibet shows a number of links with the Tibetan myth of Śambhala. Popular belief maintains that Gesar will return as the future king of Śambhala to defeat the mlecchas and establish a golden age.[45] The version of the epic from Gling actually identifies Gesar as that king, 'Drag po 'khor lo can.[46] The author of certain chapters of this version, Thub bstan 'jam dbyangs grags pa, recounts a visionary dream in which the horse of Gesar took him to Śambhala to receive an explanation that allowed him to understand the famous chapter on the horse race.[47] R. A. Stein in his massive study of the subject has shown the influence of the myth of Śambhala on the development of the Gesar epic.[48] However, there is also evidence that the influence has gone the other way as well, so that the Gesar Epic may have, in turn, influenced later developments of the Śambhala myth in Tibet.[49] According to Stein, the epic reached its present, completed form between 1400 and 1600.[50] One of the earliest references to Gesar appears in a song of Mi la ras pa, dating from perhaps the twelfth century.[51]

The most beautiful work in the Tibetan language dealing with the myth of Śambhala is the Rig pa 'dzin pa'i pho nya or Knowledge Bearing Messenger by Rin spungs nga dbang 'jigs grags.[52] As the title indicates, this long poem is based on the model of

Kālidāsa's Meghadūta or Cloud Messenger.[53] It takes the form of a message sent to the poet's deceased father in Śambhala. The poem includes an itinerary describing the way to the hidden kingdom for the benefit of a yogin messenger Nga dbang 'jigs grags visualizes to carry the message there. It also includes a description of the kingdom based on the Kālacakra Tantra. The poem employs a very ornate and difficult style of Sanskrit kāvya in Tibetan, and is therefore known only to the few Tibetans who have the training to understand it. Since the work is also taken as fiction, it does not have the mythic nature of the other guidebooks we will examine, and we will therefore only deal with it in passing.[54] The poem was composed in 1557, while Nga dbang 'jigs grags was the ruling Rin spungs prince in central Tibet.

Miscellaneous

This category includes works that lie outside the usual literary and textual classifications. Whereas some of these do not belong to the so-called 'high tradition', they demonstrate the influence and vitality of the myth of Śambhala in Tibetan culture and society in general.

The 'Dzam gling rgyas bshad, a geography of the world composed in 1820 by Btsan po no mon han, has a number of references to Śambhala.[55] The most intriguing claims that Christopher Columbus came from the city of Genoa in the country of Śambhala.[56] An annotation to the text by an anonymous proof-reader also identifies Castile as the kingdom itself and Madrid as Kalāpa, the capital city and palace of the kings of the Tibetan myth.[57] Btsan po no mon han's geography is a late work that has adopted a great deal of material from Western sources.

Folk tales about Śambhala are popular in Tibet. Many of them recount magical journeys to the kingdom by various Panchen Lamas, who are closely linked to the myth since the second incarnation in the line was supposed to have been the first kalki king,

Yaśas, and a future one is prophesied to be Raudra Cakrin, the king who will defeat the mlecchas and establish the golden age to come. In most of these stories, the Panchen lama disappears to the hidden kingdom and returns with some evidence of having been there, usually a piece of unusual fruit. In other stories the Panchen Lama will bless people in their attempts to reach Śambhala. These stories often present morals pertaining to religious practice and faith. They are therefore valuable as indicators of the kind of symbolism lying behind the more formal guidebooks to Śambhala.[58]

Depictions of Śambhala can be found in both mural and thang ka paintings. They generally depict the kingdom as it is described in later Tibetan texts - in the shape of an eight-petaled lotus blossom formed by external and internal ranges of snow mountains. Often the lotus blossom takes the more stylized form of a cakra with eight spokes of snow mountains. As we shall see, this form - lotus blossom or cakra - has a symbolic significance that has played an important role in the development of the myth of Śambhala.[59] The lower portion of these paintings usually has a depiction of Raudra Cakrin mounted on a blue horse killing the leader of the mlecchas in the great battle of the future. Paintings of this sort, depicting the entire kingdom, are relatively rare.[60]

Paintings of individual kings of Śambhala, on the other hand, are more commonly encountered in Tibetan art. The most widely depicted king is Yaśas: as an incarnation in the lineage of Panchen Lamas, he appears in relatively common sets of thang kas, often embroidered in silk, representing that lineage. Complete sets of all thirty-two kings of Śambhala are extremely rare - the only one I have seen is a set recently painted in a hallway of the Norbulingka Palace of the Dalai Lama in Lhasa. The 'Dus khor lha khang or Kālacakra chapel at Tashilhunpo Monastery in Shigatse also has a nearly compete set of kings of Śambhala on its walls. The Boston Museum of Fine Arts has a collection of finely executed thang kas from the region of Khams or western China depicting twenty-one of the kings.

There are a few rare examples of ritual music said to have come from Śambhala. While in Sikkim in 1976, I obtained a copy of a tape recording of monks chanting an offering song set to a melody brought back from a visionary, or dream, journey to Śambhala taken by Bsam gtan blo grub, abbot of Sde dge dgon chen around the beginning of this century. The offering song and melody became a tradition handed down at this monastery.[61]

2. Guidebooks to Śambhala

The main category of texts with which this dissertation will deal is that of guidebooks to Śambhala.[62] This section will present a survey of these guidebooks with detailed translations of a selected few, which will be analyzed in further detail in later chapters. We will look at these texts more or less in the order of their appearance in Tibet since the dissertation will be mainly concerned with the development of the journey to Śambhala in that country. Since the dating of the Sanskrit version of the Kalāpāvatāra is problematic, we will deal later with the original appearance of that guidebook in India. The category of 'guidebooks' here includes accounts of reported journeys as well as itineraries describing the way to Śambhala.

Śambhala pa'i lam yig

The first guidebook proper of any significance to appear in Tibet is the Śambhala pa'i lam yig by the thirteenth century lama and traveller, Man lung pa.[63] I found a copy of the text in Zanskar, without author or date mentioned in its colophon. Berthold Laufer translated a section of it in 1907, also from an anonymous, undated manuscript. By its description of Peking in another section, he concluded that it dated to the thirteenth century.[64] In the text obtained in Zanskar, I found additional passages quoted by Blo

bzang dpal ldan ye shes in his guidebook to Śambhala. There he identified the author of those passages as Man lung pa, author of a guidebook to Śambhala which he, the Panchen Lama, had rejected as not being authoritative.[65] The Blue Annals identifies Man lung pa as a thirteenth century lama with a deep interest in the Kālacakra,[66] thereby completing the identification of the Zanskar text as his and positively dating it to the thirteenth century.

The Śambhala pa'i lam yig is divided into five chapters, giving itineraries for travel to the four quarters and the region of the author's home in Tibet at the center. The itinerary to Śambhala, along with a more extensive description of the kingdom itself, occupies the fourth chapter.[67] The author states at the beginning of the text - and repeats in each chapter - that his directions have come from the magical illusion of a dream. It is partly on this basis that the Panchen Lama rejects Man lung pa's guidebook: he thinks the journey Man lung pa describes is too easy, not requiring the magic powers and attainments he considers essential for going to Śambhala. However, the text also includes indications that the author drew on other, more reliable sources as well.[68]

We present here translations of two sections of the fourth chapter, describing the journey to Śambhala:

> (15a-3) As for the fourth [chapter], which explains the record of the northern direction, if one goes to the distant place north of King Khu khom,[69] there are great mountains with groves and streams, it is said. If one goes north from there, there is a great palace of the country of Li, one of the six countries.[70] One must go six stages of a merchant's journey on each side of the square Iron Mountain.[71] As for the River Shing rta,[72] it flows from west to east. The Hor[73] of that side generally have no houses and, having relied on yak-hair tents, they dwell [in them]. The tents of the noble ones have two or three roofs. When they move, they have caravans of as many as eighty camels each.[74] At the foot outside the south side of the mountains on the south side of Śambhala, there is a great city of people. All the people of that

city have male and female [sexual organs] assembled in one [body]. The male organ is in the right side of the muscular part of the thigh, while the female organ is in the left side of the muscular part of the thigh of the opposite [leg]. Having passed three months each (15b) inside the left thigh, the child is born, it is said.

As for the size and dimensions of the country of Śambhala, half of the small Jambudvīpa is its northern part, and the three great countries of the north side that have the general name of Śambhala are there.[75] It is surrounded on all sides by some snow mountains five hundred yojanas [wide or long]. The three equal inner regions have the shape of a lotus with eight petals [formed] so that the edges of the outer and inner mountains are brought together.

In the southwest, etc., there are waters and roads on which people go. Sog po[76] merchants and brides actually go up and down [there], it is said. On the east side, there is a door that, it is said, except for as much as a river, birds, and so forth, people have never travelled, even in former times.[77] That river flows not far into the outer ocean.

(17a-4) If there be beings who wish to go to that country (Śambhala) in the future, if they go from here to Mnga ris mang yul,[78] from there to the country of the upper Hor,[79] from there to the three countries of the Sog po,[80] they will reach also the center of that country (Śambhala) without more than two or three years passing.

Accounts of Indian Pandits' Journeys to Śambhala

The most influential accounts of reported journeys to Śambhala are those of Indian pandits who were supposed to have gone there to bring the Kālacakra teachings back to India. These accounts are probably older than Man lung pa's guidebook, but they appear in contemporary and later sources - Bu ston's Dus 'khor chos 'byung, Mkhas grub rje's

Dus 'khor ṭīk chen, and the Blue Annals by 'Gos lo tsa ba.[81] Pad ma dkar po relates later versions of these journeys in his work composed toward the end of the sixteenth century.[82] The journeys themselves are supposed to have taken place in the tenth and/or eleventh centuries and help to establish the legitimacy of the Kālacakra teachings that appeared in India at that time.

There are various versions of these journeys, preserved by different Kālacakra lineages that proliferated in Tibet.[83] We will present here some short, representative accounts that include features of significance for analyzing the development of the journey to Śambhala, especially in the guidebooks proper. The first account is that of Cilu Paṇḍita according to a version found in Bu ston and Mkhas grub rje:

> At that time Cilu Paṇḍita, the great teacher who possessed the profound knowledge of all the pitakas, was born in Orissa,[84] one of the five countries of eastern India. He studied all the texts of the pitakas at Ratnagiri Vihāra, Vikramaśīla, and Nālandā, but especially at Ratnagiri, which had not been destroyed by the Turks[85]. He learned that the Mantrayāna needed, in general, to attain enlightenment in one lifetime and the commentaries of the Bodhisattvas needed, in particular, to clarify it were in Śambhala. Following the instructions of his tutelary deity, he made friends with merchants who obtained jewels from the ocean. He agreed to meet the merchants, who were crossing the ocean, in six months time, and they went their separate ways. Having travelled by stages, the ācārya climbed to the top of a mountain and met a man. The man asked him, "Where are you going?" Cilupa answered, "I'm going to Śambhala in search of the knowledge of the Bodhisattvas[86]." "The road there is extremely difficult," said the man, "But if you understand it, you can hear it even here." Cilu recognized him as an emanation of Mañjuśrī, and prostrating himself, he offered him a mandala and beseeched him for teachings. The man bestowed upon him all the initiations, tantra commentaries, and

oral instructions. After Cilu had mastered them, the man placed a flower on the crown of his head, and blessing him, said, "May all the knowledge of Bodhisattvas enter into you!" And all the knowledge of Bodhisattvas entered into him, like water poured from one vessel into another. Cilu retraced his steps and, rejoining the merchants, proceeded back to eastern India.

According to another tradition, Cilu Paṇḍita was the son of a yogin. Having been taken by his father to Śambhala, he met a very handsome monk, an emanation of Avalokiteśvara. Through the blessing of the Bodhisattva, he was able to memorize a thousand ślokas daily. Having absorbed all the tantra commentaries, he proceeded to India, where he became well-known by his ordination name of Cilupa.[87]

The following is Bu ston and Mkhas grub rje's account of a later journey to Śambhala by Kālacakrapāda the Elder,[88] a successor of Cilu Paṇḍita in the Rva lineage of the Kālacakra:

> Some say that having seen the face of Tārā, Kālacakrapāda [the Elder] was able to request whatever he desired, and instructed by Tārā he proceeded to Śambhala. On the way he was met by Avalokiteśvara, who guided him to the maṇḍala house of the Malaya grove.[89] After initiating him and explaining the tantra commentaries, the Bodhisattva gave him all the texts, and he departed.[90]

According to the account preserved in the 'Bro lineage, the journey of Kālacakrapāda the Elder is very similar to that of Cilupa in the Rva, with a few changes and additions.[91] Kālacakrapāda is born to a family who practices the Yamāntaka Tantra.[92] He hears that Bodhisattvas teach the dharma in the north. An emanation of the rigs ldan king of Śambhala, rather than Mañjuśrī, meets him on the way.[93] The rigs ldan appears because

otherwise it would take Kālacakrapāda four months to cross the waterless deserts on the way to Śambhala and his life would be endangered. He receives instructions partway to the kingdom for four months and when he returns to India he becomes known as an emanation of Mañjuśrī and receives the name of Kālacakrapāda the Elder.

A later account of the journey of Kālacakrapāda appears in The Blue Annals, with a number of options specified:

> King Puṇḍarīka,[94] a manifestation of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, who was indicated in the last śloka of the prophecy,[95] taught [the Kālacakra doctrine] to the ācārya Kālacakrapāda. This ācārya belonged to the kṣatriya class of Madhyadeśa in India and was born after his royal parents had peformed the rite ensuring the birth of a son of noble family[96]. He was learned in the five branches of knowledge and was known to be a manifestation of Ārya Mañjuśrī.[97] He was blessed by the venerable Tārā, whose face he saw clearly. After he had acquired all the lower siddhis, the Venerable One told him, "In northern Śambhala there exist many tantras and commentaries taught and prophesied by the Buddha. Go in search of them and listen to them!" He then thought of going there. In the opinion of some scholars he joined a caravan of merchants and proceeded there. Some said that he was guided there by a phantom monk. Again some said that the Venerable Tārā herself helped him. Again, some said that when he decided to proceed to Śambhala and was preparing [for the journey], he visited Śambhala in his vision and obtained the doctrines from Ārya Avalokiteśvara himself.[98] This last statement should be accepted.[99]

Kalāpāvatāra and Śambhala'i lam yig

The Kalāpāvatāra, along with with its adaptation in the Śambhala'i lam yig, will be our most important source in examining the development of the mythic journey to

Śambhala, particularly with regard to the influence of its symbolism. The beginning of this chapter discussed the general nature of the Kalāpāvatāra and the date of its translation into Tibetan in the seventeenth century by Tāranātha. This translation formed the basis for the most popular and influential of all guidebooks to Śambhala, the Grub pa'i gnas chen po Śambhala'i rnam bshad 'phags yul gyi rtogs brjod dang bcas pa or Śambhala'i lam yig by the sixth Panchen Lama Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes. As its full title indicates, the Śambhala'i lam yig includes more than a simple description of the journey to Śambhala. It divides, in fact, into two major and distinct sections, the first devoted to a description and history of Jambudvīpa in general and India in particular, the second devoted to Śambhala proper.[100] The dissertation will be concerned with the second section of the text, which describes, in one of its three subdvisions, the journey itself.[101] Tibetans generally refer to this guidebook as the Śambhala'i lam yig, a title this dissertation will use as well.

Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes states that he has relied almost exclusively on Ārya Amoghāṅkuśa's itinerary (i.e. the Kalāpāvatāra) for his description of the journey to Śambhala.[102] He briefly examines and rejects the guidebook by Man lung pa as an unreliable source,[103] suggesting by implication that the latter may have been the best-known guidebook to Śambhala at the time he, the Panchen Lama, wrote his. When Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes turns to the history and description of Śambhala, however, he completely drops the Kalāpāvatāra and relies instead on other sources, primarily Mkhas grub rje's Dus 'khor ṭīk chen with additional references to the Kālacakratantrarāja and Vimalaprabhā.[104]

In the colophon he adds that he wrote his guidebook at the request of others in the year of the female wood sheep (1775).[105] He also mentions consulting foreigners about places on the way to Śambhala, referring undoubtedly to George Bogle, who visited him in that same year.[106] Grnwedel and Vostrikov point out that Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes' description of India in the same text is based largely on reports of Bogle and his

companion, A. Hamilton, as well as on accounts of pilgrims sent by him to that country.[107]

The following translation of the Kalāpāvatāra appears with an interspersed commentary pointing out where Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes has made significant changes in adapting this text in his Śambhala'i lam yig.[108] The Kalāpāvatāra itself is found in the Ngo mtshar bstan bcos section of the Bstan 'gyur in volume po of both the Peking and Sde dge editions of the Canon. Folio numbers from that volume of the Peking edition are indicated in parentheses. The translation of the Kalāpāvatāra is inset relative to the commentary on how Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes has adapted it. Verse sections appear in a different format from the prose. Unless otherwise specified in the notes, the former are composed of seven syllable lines.

(Po 349a, line 4) In the language of India, Kalāpāvatāra. In the language of Tibet, Kalāpar 'jug pa.

Salutation to Lokeśvara.[109] Reverence having been paid to the Tathāgata, the lord of beings possessed of means,
the means of attaining the place of happiness by anyone [who so desires] will be explained here.
Mañjughoṣa, the youth of five braided hair knots who possesses compassion, having come with five thousand sons of the Conqueror,[110]

was abiding on the great mountain called Great Power, the place with deep water treasures[111] to the east and west, with two sides ornamented with flowers and fruits - the place where vidyādharas play.[112]

Lokeśvara, who possesses the eyes which are not impeded from seeing all that is to be known,

came there at that time with an assembly of ten million sons of the Conqueror.

To all those gathered there - devas and asuras, lords of ghosts, lords of snakes, and chiefs of nāgas,

people possessing good fortune and power and people [in general] - he expounded beautifully, in true manner,

the teachings of one hundred myriad thousand dharmas, the excellent vehicle of great splendor that is excellent without equal.

(349b) There were certain fortunate ones in Kosala, Vaiśālī, Videha, and Mithilā, born in Jambudvīpa in the division of Bhārata.

Five hundred of great intellect heard again and again teachings like those.

There arose many whose minds became excellent with the knowledge that benefits others.

With the earnestness of one hundred joys,[113] they went to the mountain, Great Power.

Since the one who had become a youth[114] had not appeared, they bowed down to the foot of Padmapāṇi.

Having truly worshipped him, they said respectfully, "Having heard that you are revered by the gods such as Brahma

and that you regard the beings of the six realms equally, we have come here.

We pay homage to you, god even of the gods, by drinking the dirty water of whose feet the unhappy become happy

and attain their desires and liberation. You see no persons, no dharmas, and so forth at all.

You don't have them in your imagination. Yet even so, with great inexhaustible compassion, you protect them all.

This is wonderful. Since we request a great meaning[115] out of love for those who have come here,

for the sake of [their] benefit at a future time, we beseech you to expound with true speech.

In the future, those undertaking to recite the knowledge mantras[116] will not know the thought of the Conqueror.

They will have perverse views. On account of that, where will the means be found, like a stick for cattle, so that they will truly enter the real path?"

Then the Blessed Lord (Bhagavan) of great compassion, Avalokiteśvara, spoke these words:

"Because you desire benefit for many beings, this question is well spoken, well spoken. (350a)

The youthful one who is worthy to be worshipped on the mountain Great Power expounded previously and also taught well this meaning.

He acts for the sake of unequal sentient beings. For the sake of doing benefit for these people, arise,

knowledge holder Ekajaṭī.[117] Amoghāṅkuśa, possesor of compassion, you possess great magic power.[118]

You two, by means of discussion between yourselves, undertake to expound this great meaning.

With regard to the teachings of the one who possesses ten powers,[119] there will be great benefit in the time not yet come.

Because you follow Mañjuśrī, you also possess the magic power of speech."

Having spoken thus, Lokanātha[120] remained dwelling in emptiness .

Then at that time also the noble lord Amoghāṅkuśa spoke:

In the future because people with all sorts of perverse minds will have been born,
the teachings of the son of Queen Māyā[121] will have been very blackly defiled.
There will be all kinds of different speech, and people will recommend different courses of action.
On account of that, because those who behave that way will have no power, they will all be quarreling.
There will be no attainment at all of the transcendent attainments.[122] In that way, moreover,
they will become accomplished with difficulty and will only produce suffering.
Because they will be defiled by making themselves very defiled, even the pretas [123] and so forth will have become hidden.
That being so, what need is there to speak of the gods?
Only the knowledge of just beginning to see the minor difficulties of dialectics, by only that much will they be accomplished.
How will the [visualized] mental bodies of the noble ones (350b) ever become objects of their perception?
Moreover, the supreme meaning they desire will not be found. In the region to the north of here,
on the slope of the mountain of Kailāsa, there is a city named Kalāpa. It is wealthy and always happy.
In that place are many sons of the Conqueror, noble excellent masters of men. They always possess the dharma.
There is no deceit, no slander. There is no difference between caste and non-caste. They possess beauty and power.
A person can go ten yojanas in a day, a horse twenty, and an elephant fifty. There are no epidemics and no danger to health at all.
Hari,[124] Vajrapāṇi, and others are always protecting it every day.

Śāstras that fully guide one are spread widely in that direction: the Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra; the Lankāvatāra Sūtrānta;

the Dgons pa nges par ston pa;[125] the 'Dus pa chen po'i tsogs;[126] the Sgrib pa rnam par sel ba;[127] the Mngon du byas pa'i dkon mchog sprin;[128]

the Sor mo'i phreng ba'i ched gsungs,[129] which is the fierce powerful tantra of the excellent chapter of truth;

the Sdong pos gryan pa;[130] and so forth - all originate well from that country. The 'Od dpag med pa'i 'jig rten;[131]

the Mngon dga'i bkod pa gsal ba;[132] and the Rnam snang mdzad pa'i zhing khams together with the Bgyan gyi bkod pa;[133]

the Stug po bkod pa'i mdo sde; the Dbang phyug chen pos bshad pa; the Gnas gtsang chen po la sogs par rdo rje snying pos bshad de bzhin (351a) -

the sūtra collections of Phal po che,[134] all these are fully practiced there. The outer [or annutaratantra] tantra

De bzhin gshegs rnams snying po'i don[135] which is made clear to anyone by 100,000 examples

and which is, moreover, the teaching of non-returning; and the sūtra of six pāramitās that has fifty thousand verses - those are there.

As for the basket of the knowledge-holders, two million are practiced there,

and one hundred times 100,000 established teachings[136] of those that follow them. The Mkha' dang mnyam pa rgyud kyi rgyal;[137]

the Dges pa'i rdo rje chen po[138] which definitely teaches the siddhis; the yoga tantra to know afterwards,

the Bde gshegs kun gyi 'dus pa[139] which has twenty-five thousand verses; the tantra of the holy primordial Buddha,[140]

the Sgyu 'phrul dra ba gnyis gnyis pa;[141] the explanation of the ocean of jinas, the Rnal 'byor rnal 'byor ma brgyud kyis;[142]

the eight that have been separated[143] - [they all] have been practiced openly in that region for many hundreds more than 21,600 years.

Phyag na rin chen, Blo yi bdag, Spos kyi glang po, Ma pham pa,[144] Bde ldan dbang phyug, Nam mka' mdzod, Rdo rje gzi brjid,

Rdo rje snying, Gnod sbyin gtso bo, etc., followed those [teachings] and analyzed them in various writings.

If as a result of turning to great exertion, those who seek the great meaning which is not false,[145]

should go to that lord of snow mountains (351b) and ask the accomplished masters of men,

they themselves will undoubtedly accomplish the meaning [or, attain their aim] .

Then the noble Vajrarākṣasī Ekajaṭī beseeched him: "O Son of the Jina, in the future, at the end of the last period of five hundred years, although there will will be those who wish to follow the Tathāgata, because they will be openly inclined to seek the secret teaching of the tīrthikas,[146] they will turn back from the meaning which is very well said. In order to guide them onto the holy path and to cause those who possess the most excellent fortune, whoever they be, to attain the siddhis of benefit to themselves and others, I beg you to expound completely the means of going to the city of Kalāpa. For the sake of the supreme attainment of these five hundred, including the laymen named Rnam par mi rtog and Bzang po sbas pa, and for the happiness and benefit of many who in the future adhere to the basket of the knowledge-holders, and for the sake of the unsurpassed accomplishment of the supremely accomplished ones, I beseech you to expound it, I beseech you to expound it well, I beseech you to expound it properly."

Amoghāṅkuśa spoke:

In order to benefit those of the mantra family,[147] you of the five hundred listen to me and listen well. The great aim [or, meaning] of the future time will appear here.

The sādhaka here who is situated on the right path, who, producing the unsurpassed bodhicitta, has been consecrated into the mandala (352a), who, knowing the method of knowledge,[148] is perfectly situated in his vows, who is clearly inclined toward the tantras[149] taught by the Tathāgatas, who is pure, whose mind is heedful, who possesses wisdom,[150] such a one should first please his chosen deity.[151] After that, if he has definitely obtained permission from the chosen deity - [the deity or the permission] becoming manifest or being seen in a dream, the latter also being suitable - then he should strive for the means of entering Kailāsa. Otherwise he will be made very miserable.

Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes begins his adaptation of the Kalāpāvatāra here (Śambhala'i lam yig, fol. 35a, line 2) with the instruction to the sādhaka to meditate on his tutelary deity and examine his dreams until a sign of obtaining permission appears. He warns that if one tries to go without the permission fierce nāgas and yakṣas will deprive him of his life.

Whoever has very unclear concentration, whose muttering of spells[152] lacks power, who has been forsaken by the virtues of his characteristics,[153] such a one will not attain the stage he desires.
Those who are filled with the paths of evil try to accomplish with only methods;[154] childish fools, having climbed a heap of mud, they wish to grasp the moon.

The Śambhala'i lam yig omits this section of verse.

But if he has obtained permission, he should recite [the mantra of] the essence of the noble Mañjuśrī eight hundred thousand times and also make eighty thousand fire offerings[155] of udumbara[156] flowers. In order to overcome hindrances, he should recite the knowledge [mantra][157] of Amṛtakuṇḍalin[158] one hundred thousand times and also make ten thousand fire offerings. In order to completely abolish all hatred, he should recite the knowledge [mantra] of the extremely unbearable great wrathful one, Yamāntaka, one hundred thousand times and then offer a thousand fire offerings of kiṃśuka on the very top, followed by ten thousand of the banyan tree. (352b) After that, while pleasing them with ten thousand fire offerings and offering cakes of marvelous things such as the sap of red sandalwood and ābhīra,[159] he should pray to all of them for the object he desires.

Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes follows this passage almost word-for-word with a few minor variations. He adds that one recites the mantra and makes offerings to Mañjuśrī for the sake of producing ability and power, and he specifies the syllables of the mantra for Amṛtakuṇḍalin. He replaces "in order to completely abolish all hatred" with "in order to completely cut off all obstructing humans and non-humans". He says the mantra of Yamāntaka or Vajrabhairava, whichever is appropriate, can be used.[160] At the end of the section he adds, "In all these homa offerings, he (the sādhaka) says in combined poetry and prose, 'Make me, the yogin called by this name, accomplish the attainment of Kalāpa, svāhā!', and, in accordance with Dngos grub rgya mtsho's saying, in places like Tibet, where those trees are not at hand, whatever milk-fruit tree [that is present] should be suitable'." (fols. 34a-35b)

The sādhaka who undertakes these rituals, wishing to enter the city of Kalāpa for the object of his own supreme attainment and for the sake of the happiness and benefit of many beings of the southern direction, who is without evil and deceit, by this

method which will be explained [here], will certainly [be able to] go all the way there. There will not be impediments or misfortune in the intervening regions, and if these words of mine prove false, I will become one who has acted in inexpiable sin.

If the method[161] is distorted or if one possesses an evil mind, one will receive punishment from small nāgas, snakes, yaksas, ghosts, or some of the fierce deities. As for accomplishment, it will never be attained.

Accomplished ones will have no difficulty. They have another, different kind of practice, which is the work of mantra and prāna.

The travelling of tantra is something else. The very weak will not accomplish this.

The sādhaka who possesses ability and the desire to accomplish will obtain by this method, which he has understood,[162] what he has not [yet] accomplished.

The Sambhala'i lam yig omits this passage, except for the warning about nāgas, etc., mentioned earlier in that text.

(353a) Then, having perfectly worshipped with a thousand offerings at the asvattha tree where the Tathāgatas have attained abhisambodhi,[163] that sādhaka should enter the path. By taking a ship with an excellent captain on the ocean called Ratnasāgara west of this continent,[164] he should go north to the island called Sikodhara[165] and the island called "Treasury of Jewels". On the west side of that island there is a town of mlecchas; the sādhaka should not go there. He should remain for six months in the city near the eastern side. In that place there is the stūpa of of the Sugata Kanakamuni[166]. Performing fifty thousand circumambulations around it, he should recite the hundred syllable [mantra] of the Tathāgatas. As for that, it is the following: "Namas traiyadhikānāṃ tathāgatānāṃ, sarvatra apratihata, bapti[167] dharmmatā balinam, oṃ asama samatatoña, anantabapti[168] śāsani, hara hara,

buddhadharmate sara sara, samabala, hasa hasa, traya traya, gagana, mahāvaralakṣane, jvela jvelana sāgare svāhā."

Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes follows the overall meaning of this passage with a number of variations. He specifies that the aśvattha tree is at Bodhgaya (rdo rje ldan or vajrāsana) in Magadha. He adds that the sādhaka should offer prayers for attaining the aim of complete enlightenment attained by the Tathāgatas there. He omits references to 'this continent' and going north. He changes 'Sikodhara' to 'Sikodhana' and adds that these are two islands that are countries of the pherengi[169]. He omits any reference to mlecchas on the island and warnings not go to their town. He also omits the specific syllables of the mantra and changes the number of circumambulations from fifty thousand to ten thousand. (fol. 35b)

One of weak faith will never be accomplished. The ritual should not be disparaged, nor the mantra.
The deities and dharma should not be derided. One should definitely accomplish and keep the mind even.
By the power of great faith, one will arrive and be liberated. Putting down virtue and dharma, one will never be [liberated] .

The Śambhala'i lam yig omits this verse section.

(353b) Then the sādhaka should return to this very part of Bharata[170] by boat. Otherwise, because the other islands and many other border countries north of the island called "Treasury of Jewels" are not to be enjoyed, the sādhaka will wander aimlessly in every direction. In that place, in this continent, there are a lake and a river called "Blue River" and, from east to west, a level plain. Having therefore forsaken the northern direction,[171] the sādhaka should go northeast.

Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes replaces 'Bharata' with 'Jambudvīpa'. He omits the rest of the passage and replaces it with "it appears to be from the country of Sindhu".

> There are cities such as Rugma,[172] Rāsari, Kaṭkīla,[173] and Madhuvāndha.[174] He should go from north to north for six months. Beyond them is a great river called the Satru[175] and a snow mountain called Kakāri. He should also pass over them. As for the people who live in those countries, because they are of straightforward nature, it is not difficult to travel and there is nothing, moreover, to fear.

Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes follows this passage fairly closely with some minor changes. He calls the Satru the Patru and does not mention Kakāri in conjunction with that river. Instead, he specifies that it lies north of the river and great snow mountain, which the Kalāpāvatāra seems to identify as Kakāri itself. (fols. 35b-36a)

> On that mountain[176] the herb called tujanaya is very sweet in taste and the one called tilaka is very bitter. Those two also have drops like milk. The one whose flowers are very red like the splendor of the rising sun, whose leaves[177] are like the teeth of a battle axe, which has sharp thorns and grows from crags facing south, that one, moreover, is the tujanaya. The one hanging down on the sides of deep ravines, which has white flowers like suspended female buffalo nipples, that one is the tilaka. Having dug out the four sides of each one with a magic dagger[178] of patala wood while reciting the knowledge mantra of the great powerful Vajrarākṣasa, [the sādhaka] should remove their roots. Having completely dried them in seven days, he should protect and hide them in a rock cave by reciting the Amṛtakuṇḍalin [mantra].

The Ṣambhala'i lam yig follows this passage closely with slightly different wording and word order and a couple of minor additions and omissions that are of no particular significance.

> In that direction there are five colors of red ochre: (354a) white, yellow, red, black, and green. Having taken and washed them with snow water, one should paint the image of the goddess Mārīcī on the surface of a white stone slab. The image should be of a color like purified gold, with three eyes that are red like the oleander flower, the right face red, the left face that of a very wrathful pig, with a tantric raiment[179] of blue silk hanging down.[180] The [goddess] should be subjugating devas, asuras, and cattle by making a barely evident mudrā of space. She should be bending a bow and arrow of flowers with the first two hands, the middle two grasping a needle and thread and an aśoka [branch], the lowest holding to the right and left of the navel cakra a skullcup and a khātvānga. She should be on top of a pig, completely suppressing all hatreds and poisons. Having painted her like that, with such a ritual, one should worship her and recite the following mantra: "Namo ratnatrayāya, tadyathā oṃ patāli patāli, paralivarahamukhī sarvaduṣṭana, praduṣṭana, bandha bandha mukhaṃ svāhā." Along with this, one should make fire offerings with five hundred red flowers and aśoka [branches]. One should also recite this heart mantra ten thousand times: "Oṃ vajra vaitalī hūṃ phaṭ."

Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes follows this passage quite closely with a few changes. At the beginning he adds that the sādhaka should take and wash the mineral colors with the yoga of his tutelary deity. He adds that Mārīcī's middle face should be yellow and that she should be riding on a tiger (rather than a pig). Also, she should be subduing the three worlds and suppressing possessors of poison (rather than "all hatreds and poisons"). He also specifies clearly that the image should be visualized in meditation. (fols. 36a-36b)

One who dwells well in brahmacarya,[181] dwelling well in the practice of compassion, should treat with friendliness
the vicious ones who are permanently engaged in viciousness. The mantra holder[182] should apply whatever is needed to tame [them].
It will never be [accomplished] by those who act in misery. It is [only accomplished] by those who control themselves inside.

The Śambhala'i lam yig omits this verse section.

After that, [the sādhaka] should pulverize those medicines that drip nectar and boil them completely in the spilt milk of a wild ox of the glaciers. Then he should put [the resulting brew] in front of the bhagavatī. (354b) Adding "manufacture drops of nectar" to the end of the heart [mantra], he should recite it one thousand times, worshiping the goddess perfectly, and take siddhi. Then he should drink the medicine. Thereafter he should also place that image facing north and cover it with all sorts of flowers and fruits. By [doing] that he will not become hungry, thirsty, fatigued, nor tired, and moreover,through the magic power of the goddess, he will overcome all obstacles by himself.

Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes follows this passage very closely with minor variations. He adds that 'bālimta' should be added to the mantra and that the goddess "will suppress with power (or, glory) the vicious ones". (fol. 36b)

Then one should go for twenty-one days facing in the northern direction. On that path there is not any grass, not any tree trunks, not any water at all. Beyond that, there are dense forests, and one must go for twelve days on a path through a solitary

wilderness where snakes, tigers, and so forth live. On the far side is a king of mountains called Gandhāra,[183] twenty yojanas high. That mountain is filled with medicinal herbs of all kinds. In that [place] live lions with wings , and every day they kill many living creatures. There is found a particular kind of large game animal called 'body changing'.[184] They are changing the appearance of their bodies in all kinds of ways.

The Śambhala'i lam yig follows the meaning of this passage closely, with some variation in wording. Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes adds that one should go for twenty-one days "in a fearful desert" and substitutes "beast of prey" for "tigers, etc." in the forest. He changes the winged lions into lions with eight legs. (fols. 36b-37a)

From the blood of those [animals] killed by the lions, [the sādhaka] should draw on a black slab of stone the rākṣasī named Mandeha with a terrifying body, showing her teeth, of red color, her lower body encircled with a human skin, grasping a khadga in the left hand, holding and eating in the right a fresh cowhide filled with flesh, blood, and hearts. He should also prepare offering cakes of flesh and blood in receptacles. Having made himself into Yamāntaka, unbearable, holding up a stick and lariat, and seated on a buffalo, he should recite [the mantra], "Oṃ hrīḥ kālarūpa (355a) hūṃ khaṃ svāhā, kreṃ kare kreṃ kare mandeha rākṣasī, āgaccha, āgaccha hrīḥ ja." With ten thousand recitations of that [mantra], she will come forth bodily.

Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes again follows the passage quite closely. He has the image holding, but not eating, the flesh, etc. He specifies that the offering cakes made from the flesh and blood "of the game killed by the lions [sh‹o›uld be arranged] in front of that [image]". He also specifies that the sādhaka should visualize Yamāntaka, whom he refers

to as Gshin rje gshed rather than Gshin rje mthar byed.[185] He adds that the mantra must be murmured as long as the rākṣasī does not appear in front.

When she appears, having given excellent offerings of blood and cakes of flesh, he should show the mudrā of the skullcup and subjugate her with the power of the great wrathful one. Then she will say, "Sādhaka, what do you wish?" He should reply, "O Rākṣasī, because I wish to benefit all sentient beings and make them happy, I am going to the city of Kalāpa. Prepare food in these empty lands." Then she will disappear. At the foot of arjuna trees, in the places where one stays, she will leave quintessences of a white color like very attractive kunda flowers with a taste like honey.

The Śambhala'i lam yig omits most of the first part of the passage, specifying only the mudrā to be shown. It leaves out the rākṣasī's greeting and begins with the sādhaka's request, which follows the meaning of that in the passage, changing "empty countries" to "empty roads". Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes adds that the quintessences will be left on the road and that as a result of eating it, the sādhaka's body will become very light. (fol. 37a)

To the north there is a mountain called Great Snow [Mountain][186] that has a circumference of three hundred yojanas. It is completely filled with yakṣas, tapasvins, siddhas, and kinnaras. If the sādhaka is one who possesses the power of subduing others, then he should go there and make himself happy. He should play [with the inhabitants]. After enjoying themselves [with him] for a while, they will take him aloft on their shoulders and go instantly to the city of Kalāpa. If he does not have the power of subduing others, he must not go there; he must go [away] quickly, adhering closely to the wide, clearly defined path of the north.

Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes follows the gist of the passage but makes a number of changes. He omits 'north' at the beginning and replaces 'yaksas, tapasvins, siddhas, and kinnaras' with 'devas, knowledge-holding ṛṣis, yakṣas, and rākṣasas'. He interjects that the mountain is the place where the sthavira Abheda stays.[187] He changes the condition of possessing the power of subduing others to being accomplished in the supreme knowledge mantra(s). At the end of the passage, he omits the warning not to go to the mountain and tells the sādhaka, if he is not accomplished in knowledge mantras, to go in the north-east direction, without mentioning any wide, clearly defined path to the north. (fol. 37b)

As for the lineages of place in the three worlds,[188] even if their merit is small, it is preferable to be accomplished.
Although one is the friend of those who put down discipline,[189] one will not find in any case the great of the great.
Those who always possess the power of virtue know the benefit even of the impious.
Those who truly produce the bodhicitta will accomplish the supreme knowledge mantras.[190]

The Ṣambhala'i lam yig omits this verse section.

From that snow mountain to the east and west, waters flow swiftly down. (355b) They blend completely with eighty thousand great pools containing springs at the foot of the place and look like a lake, their current no longer evident. The color [of the water] appears as white and on account of that, it is called the River Sītā.

Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes follows this passage closely and adds that it is called Sītā or White for the reasons stated above according to what Mkhas grub rje has said in his subcommentary on the Vimalaprabhā. (fol. 37b)

As for this river, it is 3500 yojanas in length. To the east and west, it disgorges completely into the ocean of poison.[191] It is about a yojana in width.

The Śambhala'i lam yig omits this passage.

This river is so cold that except for hell beings, there are no creatures [in it], such as birds, fish, or crocodiles.

Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes omits reference to the kinds of creatures not present in the river and simply says there are "nothing but hell-beings" in it. (fol. 37b)

On the near bank of that river is a mountain called Color of Copper, which has a thousand caves and is completely filled with rakṣaka, kulumaka, tamaru, deodar, and juniper trees. A rākṣasī named Flickering Lightning[192] dwells on that mountain.

The Śambhala'i lam yig omits reference to the specific trees and adds that the rākṣasī is mistress[193] of the mountain and river. (fols. 37b-38a)

According to her ritual, which is like the one for the preceding [rākṣasī], she holds a wooden pestle in her hand, is feeding on the body of an elephant,[194] and has the color of rain clouds. One should draw a picture [of her] with the blood of gañja,[195] antelope, wild buffalo, and elephant - the offering cakes are [made of] those very things as well. As for the yoga of self [generation], it is of the wrathful one

Yamāntaka with six faces, a color like the clouds at the end of time, six legs, and twelve hands - the right ones holding a khaḍga, battle axe, knife, club, cakra, and trident; the left ones the stick of Yama,[196] the lariat of time, a khāṭvāṅga, iron hook, skullcup full of blood, and a raised forefinger. The mantra [of Yamāntaka] is as follows: "Oṃ sarvaduṣṭana staṃbhaya hūṃ, nāḍivaravaranī kumāra krīṭa tūpine bhandha bandha samaya manuṣama phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā." The mantra of the rākṣasī is: "Vidyud cala cala, pracala pracala, vidyud ji hva, sahasra mukha sahasra bahave, ra ra ra ra rākṣasī bhyoḥ byhoḥ ākarṣaya jaḥ." The sādhaka should say to her, "Show the way," and she, for her part, will show the way over the River Sītā.

Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes follows the description of the ritual closely, expanding it slightly by making certain points more specific. He describes what is similar to the previous ritual, and he specifies that the offering cakes are to be made from the flesh of the creatures killed previously. He also makes it clear that the sādhaka should visualize his self as the body of Yamāntaka, and he expands the description of the latter to make him fierce and unbearable. He omits the last reference to the rākṣasī showing the way over the river. (fols. 38a-38b)

(356a) That river is so cold that its coldness prevents snow and wind from touching its surface.[197] Because of that, ice does not form even in the middle of winter. Even so, through the magic power of this rākṣasī, even in the first month of summer, very firm ice will form. Then the sādhaka will [be able to] go to the other side of the river without any fear at all.

The Śambhala'i lam yig clarifies the first part of the passage by saying that the cold vapors of the river suppress the vapors of air, etc., above the ground so that the river never freezes. Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes omits references to winter and summer and makes

the following significant addition: "... it is said that whatever part of the body touches [the river], that part turns to stone." He adds that on account of that Indians generally call the river the "Bhastani". He also replaces "without any fear" with "without any hindrance". (fol. 38b)

> This river is called Part of Bharata.[198] It flows through the middle of half of this continent. To the south and north are ninety-six great countries, and though [the] ninety-six do indeed exist, the [portion on the] northern side [of the river], however, is broader from east to west.

Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes replaces "Part of Bharata" with the "Bhastani" mentioned above. He includes the reference to the river flowing through the middle of Jambudvīpa, but omits the reference to ninety-six countries. In their place he speaks of mleccha cities to the east and west of the paths previously described and says they are subjects of Rum sham, a region or country that he earlier describes as lying northwest of Kabul and Balkh.[199] (fol. 37b)

> Beyond that river there are groves of ketaka, bilva, kabhita, patuśa, badara, kapittha, arjuna, and hala trees. One should take rest there for a month. One should also eat roots and fruits. The roots, fruits, leaves, and flowers of these [plants] are all nutritious and powerful. By reciting five thousand times the mantra of the goddess Cundā,[200] the nine-syllable dhāraṇī[201] blessed by seventy million Buddhas, [the sādhaka will cause] very black blood to appear and drip from his own limbs. But if it happens in that fashion in a dream, that also will be all right. His body will be without sickness and will become powerful and very light.

Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes follows this passage with minor variations. The sādhaka should eat as much of the roots, flowers, and fruits as he can because it is said they are very powerful even if smelled. He specifies that Cundā's dhāraṇī is a knowledge mantra but omits that it has been blessed by the Buddhas. He says black blood will drip in reality or in a dream. He omits reference to the body becoming very light. (fol. 38b)

> He who completely abandons his vows and slanders his lama dies prematurely and goes to the eighth hell. Moreover, he who does not see the maṇḍala, whose empowerment is weak,
>
> will never accomplish the yoga of the mantra. He who is arrogant, whose pride has come forth, and who is untruthful, the Jina did not proclaim that he would attain siddhi.
>
> Those people whose thoughts are on the meaning of impermanence, misery, and emptiness, they will quickly accomplish, the noble ones have said. (356b)
>
> Those who abandon intoxication with family, body, wealth, power, dharma, knowledge, and mantra; who see [those things] like dreams, reflected images, cities of gandharvas;
>
> who do not see actor, object of action, or action; whose minds are dispassionate, tamed, and truly gentle; who worship, give offerings, are patient, exert themselves, and give rise to zeal;
>
> who openly rejoice in abandoning 'I' and 'mine'; they will attain the supreme siddhi.[202]

The Śambhala'i lam yig omits this verse section.

Moreover, from that grove there, the sādhaka should take the fruit of the khaṭbuja, which has the color of gold, and carry it as provisions for the path. Here the

sādhaka should carry as much of it as he can. Because it will never press him down with its weight, he should not be apprehensive that he will not be able to carry it.

Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes follows the passage closely with minor changes. The fruit is called kharbuja. The Śambhala'i lam yig omits reference to the weight of the fruit not pressing the sādhaka down. (fol. 38b)

From that very forest [to the north] small mountains arranged in rows fill up the space between the oceans of east and west. All the waters flowing from them, moreover, flow toward the south. As a result they carry much water in them. Beyond those mountains, for up to fifty yojanas in the northern direction, there is no water fit to drink.[203] However, because the sādhaka's body is light and powerful, he will reach the far side of that great plain in seven days. In doing so, since he eats that fruit of the khatbuja, he will [suffer] neither hunger nor thirst. When that plain has been crossed, even though he previously took much to carry, that fruit, morevoer, will be consumed.

The Śambhala'i lam yig follows this passage fairly closely, expanding and clarifying it at certain places. It specifies, for example, that the waters flowing south are good and flow into the Sītā and that the other waters are not fit to drink. The sādhaka reaches the far side of the plain by the power of previously reciting Cundā's mantra. Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes adds that the plain is dangerous and that no matter how much fruit the sādhaka takes, it will last just long enough to cross the plain because of the power of the wishing prayer of the Bodhisattva(s). (fols. 38b-39a)

In the intermediate region west of that place, a pure white mountain adorned with many attractive groves will be visible from a great distance. The sādhaka should not

go there. Why? Because five hundred rākṣasīs with copper lips live there, and (357a) those messengers of the asuras will cause harm to the sādhaka. Therefore, he should go on, taking the great straight road to the north.

Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes follows this passage closely. He adds that the mountain appears after crossing the plain. He omits the number of rākṣasīs and their capacity to do the sādhaka harm, but he does say they are messengers of the asuras. (fol. 39a)

In one day he will reach the mountain called Ketara. Black and ugly, it inspires fear. It is like a raised pillar ten yojanas high. The inside of that mountain is filled entirely with gold and silver. On its four sides are lakes of lotus and blue lotus, filled with the sweet-sounding cries of birds with beautiful colors and bodies - birds such as geese, red geese, and kāraṇḍava ducks playing in the water. In this [place], from time to time, the world protector Virūḍhaka makes merry and plays. About a thousand asura maidens and pretty daughters of fierce and vicious nāgas make offerings there. There are also many pretas of great power and magic illusion who are known as his attendants.

The Śambhala'i lam yig follows this passage closely with very minor changes. It specifies that the mountain is surrounded by four lakes and omits the names of the birds there. Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes calls Virūḍhaka a great king rather than a world protector and adds that the maidens play with, rather than worship, him. (fol. 39a)

If the sādhaka has them at hand there, he should make various kinds of offering cakes of roots, fruits, coconut fruit, meat, and fish. But if they are not available, he should make them all with his mind. The mantra for them is the following: "Oṃ vi vi vi vi virūḍhaka, saparivārebhyaḥ khuni khuni pretotkṣipta imaṃ baliṃgriha griha

samayamanusmara hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā." According to that [mantra], he should also offer burnt incense of sal resin, gum, and meat. Then, with that protecting him, he will not be afflicted with harm by kinnaras, asuras, rākṣasas, pretas, flesh-eaters, and ḍākinīs.

Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes makes minor changes again. He replaces the first clause with "When the sādhaka gets there," and says that alternatively the sādhaka should make the offerings by magic power, rather than by mind. He adds that the offerings should be pulverized and given specifically to Virūḍhaka with the mantra. At the end he changes "afflicted with harm" to "oppressed with power". (fols. 39a-39b)

Some who practice the three liberations,[204] others (357b) who are themselves heroes of play, those who are the cause of the transmission of blessings from one to another, those who produce knowledge by being wise in the fruits,

those who conquer the host of desires and who are on the path of pure action and who follow those who have attained, why will they not achieve the bliss which is more excellent than the mental state of darkness and which is the cause of happiness?[205]

The Śambhala'i lam yig omits this verse section.

Then, when the sādhaka has gone in the northern direction, [he will come to] a great mountain not far called Menako.[206] It is surrounded by forests of magnolia, karkola,[207] maraka, kituka, kimpaka, nāgapuṣpa, and yellow sandalwood. In that range of mountains, daughters of rākṣasas with faces of horses, female asuras, and daughters of minor nāgas are always making merry with various dances, songs, and music. The sādhaka must not become attached to those women, nor take delight in their songs and music. He should take alms of cooked food and go elsewhere.

Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes follows this passage fairly closely, condensing it at places. He changes the name of the mountain to Monako and omits the names of the trees. He shortens the list of maidens to rākṣasīs and daughters of asuras and nāgas and omits reference to their dances. He warns the sādhaka only to avoid attachment to their songs and music, etc. (fol. 39b)

Beyond that place there is a great river flowing from east to west with very turbulent waves that are difficult to cross. As for the name of that river, it is called the Satvalotana.[208] There are fish in it of various colors with various sorts of faces - [faces of] tigers, lions, leopards, cows, monkeys, parrots, ravens, humans, and so forth.

On some sections of that river, there are nyagrodha trees growing from rocks on either bank with branches that intertwine with each other. The sādhaka should cross holding onto those trees. Or else, he should cross through the power of the fish.

The Śambhala'i lam yig follows this passage closely with minor changes. It changes the name of the river to the Patvalotana and lists the fish with various faces later, when they appear with the king of the fish as members of his retinue. (fol. 39b)

On the near side [of the river] are many small red mountains called Lohita. Red wild rice, mudga, and mantuva grow on them without cultivation. (358a) Having picked them, he should make a porridge and also take the abundant honey that has fallen from trees. Mixing them together, he should mix and purify them really well with the noble mantra called "The Treasury of Space".[209] Then he should stew them as offerings to the multitude of fish with this mantra: "Oṃ maṃ maṃ maṃ maṃ maṃ matsyarāja, matsyagaṇa sahita bhuñja ho bhakṣa ho, sarvamatsyadevatā imaṃ baliṃ

> grihna kara kara kira kira kuru kuru mara mara miri miri muru muru mamakātyaṃ syadhaya,sarvabuddhaya jñapayati svāhā.". Offering the offering cakes like that five hundred times, he should invoke his chosen deity.

Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes follows this passage but expands on it. He specifies that the offering cakes of honey, etc., should be like round pills and blessed, rather than purified, by the mantra through the firm pride of visualizing oneself as one's tutelary deity. In addition, the offering cakes should be thrown into the river, rather than to the fish. (fols. 39b-40a)

> When the king of the fish comes before the sādhaka, the sādhaka should say, "O King of the Fish, I am going to the city of Kalāpa for the benefit and happiness of all sentient beings. Please carry me to the other side of the river. For this purpose[210] the Tathāgatas are the powerful ones." Then the King of the Fish, having put the sādhaka on his back, will go to the other side of the river.

The Śambhala'i lam yig follows this passage, clarifying it slightly. The sādhaka tells the king of the fish that the power of the Tathāgatas is for this purpose - the purpose of benefiting all beings.

> Whatever paths there be in the intermediate region from north of the glaciers of Kakāri to this river, there are no human beings residing along them, only beings that are non-human and fierce - unbearable yakṣas.

Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes follows the meaning of this passage with only minor variations. (fol. 40a)

> However, over five hundred yojanas to the east and west of the paths, there are indeed towns, cities, and large suburbs. If one strays from these paths, one will not reach the city of Kalāpa, even in a hundred years, and one will [wind up] wandering aimlessly. The entire intermediate region north of the River Sītā is filled everywhere with numerous snow mountains. However, the mountains of snow are no impediment.

Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes completely changes this passage, omitting most of it. He adds that east and west are dwellings of mlecchas so there is no need to go there. Moreover, the towns and cities of that region lie north of Aryadeśa (India). He omits all reference to wandering aimlessly, etc. (fol. 40a)

> (358b) North of that [region] which has been completely traversed lie the cities of the northern side of Jambudvīpa, filled with countries, towns, cities, and large cities with suburbs, well-provisioned, happy, with years of good harvests.

Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes summarizes the passage by saying that between the river and Kailāsa are the great cities of the northern side of Jambudvīpa. (fol. 40a)

> [The place] where he who is master of compassion dwells with the body of three eyes,
> because it is marked with his residence, it is well-known as Śambhala. Where [there is found] what is marked by Śambhala,
> the victory banner marked with a lion like the well-known victory banner of a lion, that [place] is called Śambhala[211] -
> where there are no mlecchas; where truth is spoken, not lies; where the power of negativity has grown weak;
> where the power of compassion has increased in excellence .

The Śambhala'i lam yig omits this verse section.

There are many different countries between that river and Kailāsa: the country called Nya of twenty yojanas [in size]; the one called Pulindo, also of twenty yojanas; the one called Bhadasyana[212] of one hundred yojanas; the one called Cīna of a thousand yojanas, in the middle part; the [country] called Darado of one hundred yojanas; the one called Kuru, also of one hundred yojanas; the one called Bhadrika of fifty yojanas. Beyond them is the [country] called Gandhara, twenty yojanas [in size]; the one called Kāśa, twenty yojanas; the one called Bhadra, two hundred yojanas; the one called Mahācīna, a thousand yojanas, in the middle part; the [country] called Dharadhau,[213] one hundred yojanas, which is situated on the slope of a mountain; the one called Bṛgika, two hundred yojanas. Beyond that also there is the [country] called Mahiṣaka, two hundred yojanas; the one called Mahilako, a thousand yojanas, in the middle part; the [country] called Barbara, two hundred yojanas; the one called Putāphala, five hundred yojanas. Beyond them is the [country] called Kaṭuka, fifty yojanas; the one called Khāra, (359a) five hundred yojanas, in the middle part; the [country] called Kaṃboji, one hundred yojanas [in size]. Moreover, in the parts east and west of them, there also other countries and cities.

Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes replicates this list of countries with only occasional minor variations of spelling. He omits the last sentence and condenses some of the earlier wording. (fols. 40a-40b)

Adorned with many rivers and various lakes and ponds, they are filled with snow mountains and good mountains,

with many delightful valleys of medicinal herbs, attractive forests of bliss, and medicinal herbs.

There are all sorts of palaces of kings and market places and stores with various kinds of merchandise and numerous necessities.

There is nothing whatsoever to fear there, there is nothing to inspire dread. However, attention must not be paid to them:

wordly things will make hindrances for the sādhaka. He must go [on], thinking only of Kalāpa, the best of cities.

Cīna,[214] Mahācīna, and Bayilakokhara, from north to north he should cross them. That path is very long.

The Śambhala'i lam yig omits this section and replaces it with a brief reference to the size and wealth of the cities (or countries) listed above. (fol. 40b)

Although there are many thousands [of yojanas to cross], because he holds the power of mantras,

[it will take] seven days, half a month, and so forth - in any case, no more than six months.

Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes changes "because he holds the power of mantras" to "with the power of knowledge mantras". Otherwise, the meaning is the same. (fol. 40b)

After he has completely crossed those [counties], there are various springs. From some, streams of different kinds of poison flow.

There are mountains of heaped gold dust, and, likewise, of silver and copper, some of iron and abhu and tin are also like that.

They are covered with thick earth, sand, and stones. They are filled with all kinds of pebbles, some of them with various kinds of jewels.

In the region of those countries, thoroughly watered trees and grasses, jivanti jewels, and coral of various kinds grow. (359b)

From the [mountains of] gold flows water that causes death; from the silver, water that causes madness; as for the others,

[from them] water that causes hair and skin to fall off and from some, water that causes various illnesses.

When one goes three yojanas beyond the springs, there are waters free from bad smells.

Due to the sādhaka's power of mantras, all those waters have excellent [effects]: the waters of gold cause long life;

the silver, similarly, good complexion; the rest, whichever they be, cause the destruction of all sickness .

Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes follows the meaning of this passage but condenses and clarifies it. He shortens the description of the plants, pebbles, and jewels covering the mountains, omitting much of it. His wording of the second part, dealing with the effects of the various springs, follows the wording of the passage quite closely and has the same meaning. He changes the three yojanas to three hundred and puts the good waters - i.e. those free from bad smells - just before the Mountain of Five Peaks. (fol. 40b)

Moreover, crossing beyond those [springs], there is the so-called Mountain of Five [Peaks], adorned with various precious jewels, filled with many hundreds of kinds of paradise trees such as adha, svallvala,[215] śālmalī, śāla, tamala, daśāma, niṣkāra, āmra, karavīra, śilina, bakula, gandhamoda, and madodhama. On that mountain kinnaras and kinnarīs dwell, always joyful, playing with all kinds of

excellent objects of desire. In order to seduce the sādhaka, they will also make very [beautiful] songs and music. In order to threaten him, they will emit frightening sounds, or else they will change into various forms. In order to make him very sorrowful, they will also prepare all kinds of smoke and so forth. The sādhaka should not become attached to them, he should not fear, he should not become sorrowful. Instead, by relying on emptiness,[216] he should subdue [them] with power and go on. If he goes by any other way, he will incur great suffering.

The Śambhala'i lam yig follows the meaning of this passage but condenses it considerably. It omits the names of the different kinds of trees and shortens the description of the kinnaras, saying simply that male and female ones live and play there. Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes also condenses the description of their attempts to seduce and frighten the sādhaka. He omits the warning to the sādhaka not to become attached to them and the consequences of failing to heed the warning. He adds that the sādhaka should subdue the kinnara's efforts with the power of emptiness and an unmoved mind. (fol. 41a)

Then, when he has passed beyond that mountain also, he will find small countries called Bhoṭa,[217] Sudābhoṭa,[218] and Srabhoṭa.[219] (360a) In them repose vajraḍākinīs with the magic appearance of daughters of men. The sādhaka should stay there for seven days and entreat [them]. Then they will say, "O Sādhaka, what do you need?" The sādhaka must say, "Please cause me to go quickly to the city of Kalāpa." Then one possessing the magical appearance of a woman will bear the sādhaka aloft on her shoulders and go for an hour entirely over great snow mountains four yojanas high and a path of snow ranges more than a hundred yojanas [long].

Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes follows the meaning of the passage closely, condensing the wording in places. He omits 'small countries' and has Prabhota for Srabhota. He

specifies that the vajradākinīs have human form and shortens the sādhaka's response to an indirect quote saying that he should beg them to take him to Kalāpa. He shortens slightly the description of the flight over the snow mountains. (fol. 41a)

After that, she will reach a mountain called Candrakala[220] possessing very delightful valleys of medicinal herbs filled completely with hintāla trees, matūla,[221] kolaka, sindhuvara, nagumala,[222] dvandva, somavardha,[223] samana, nicula, bidurma, tindu, and so forth.

The Śambhala'i lam yig condenses the passage by omitting the names of the various trees. Otherwise, the meaning and wording are nearly the same. (fol. 41a)

One neither rejoices in the bodies of youthful charm nor likewise fears [their] external appearance.
Those who possess the eyes of vajra are renowned for delighting in those who behave virtuously.
Those who possess compassion are also equally kind to those who are sinful.
Because the sādhaka's own sins[224] have been consumed, he becomes happy .

The Śambhala'i lam yig omits this verse section.

That mountain is on the border of the country of Śambhala, and on that side stays the noble one Bhṛkuṭī, she of one plaited tuft of hair.[225] Having offered her eight hundred fire offerings of blue jasmine and kusumbha flowers, one should beseech her for siddhi and go [on]. Taking from there some white lotus [blossoms] of the glaciers,[226] one should recite five thousand times the mantra, "Oṃ śveta śveta śveta jāṭī niśruti smṛti vijaya bhri svāhā." By simply binding [the lotus blossoms] on the

> crown of the head, he will subdue all ferocious yaksas and give rise to the unimpeded wisdom that enters into everything.[227]

Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes follows this passage quite closely. He adds that the mountain is "on the near petal of the outer snow mountains of Śambhala". He changes the name of Bhṛkuṭī to Ral gcig ma,[228] another name for the same deity and adds that she stays there bodily. He also specifies that the wisdom is extensive, as well as unimpeded. (fols. 41a-41b)

> Then, proceeding in the northern direction, there is a country called Meghakeru. Beyond that, moreover, there are great forests of sāla and tāla. The area of those forest and cities is eight yojanas across. When one has gone north of them, there is a country called Śrunikaraṇa[229] and another called Vivijala, where there are great forests of khadira and sandalwood. One must travel a hundred yojanas to cross them also. Beyond there is a great valley called Saṃsukha.

The Śambhala'i lam yig follows the wording of this passage very closely, but at the end it inserts the following important addition: "The people who live on the edge of the snow mountains of the border country of Śambhala have bodies [in] halves: male organs are placed on the right thigh and female organs on the left." (fol. 41b)

> Whatever kinds of trees there are in Jambudvīpa, they are all in that country. It is adorned by all trees without remainder. Beyond that also is a forest called Perpetually Happy,[230] and passing beyond that as well, on the far side, is the city of Kalāpa.

Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes follows this passage fairly closely, condensing it slightly and changing "the city of Kalāpa" to "the great country of Śambhala". The rest of the

Kalāpāvatāra following this passage, in particular its description of the region of Kalāpa, he omits entirely. (fol. 41b)

In order to hear there the dharma from the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva who holds the aspect of a master of men, the sādhaka must make profound salutations from all four sides of the great palace of Kalāpa. He should also spread incense, scatter flowers, and make circumambulations for one day, seven days, half a month, or one month. In that manner, as many sins[231] as the sādhaka has, that many will be consumed. With the speech of a Bodhisattva, the Master of Men will grant permission and allow him to be led before his lotus feet. As soon as he sees the mahasāttva, at that time, with his mind placed in great equanimity, clear and without movement, he should pay respects with his body fully prostrated like a fallen stick (361a) several hundred thousand times. He should also strew precious stones or flowers. If he is one who has few obscurations,[232] by merely touching that [mahāsattva's] foot with his head, he will obtain the siddhis he desires. As for others, they will obtain the siddhis they desire from the words of that Bodhisattva. Furthermore, in a similar way, the small siddhis and knowledge will also be obtained. However, if he thinks truly for the sake of the happiness and benefit of numerous beings in the southern direction of Jambudvīpa, he must also ask for the means for accomplishing that aim, whatever those [means] may be. If he practices in a manner according to the precepts given, he will accomplish in that very manner.

Then the sādhaka should see the most excellent [sights] of that country. The books expounded by the Tathāgata will also be made manifest. He should pay respects to the various different kinds of monasteries and the many kinds of stūpas. He should also make prayers for the fulfillment of wishes.[233]

That country is round and surrounded by snow mountains . In the portion of the direction of bhūtas,[234] at [a distance of] fifty yojanas,

there is the place where the one of extreme excellence and fame, the lord of bhūtas, Blue Neck,[235]

always resides and is happy - the supreme mountain called Kailāsa.[236] Various kinds of science, the work of medicine, all kinds of art,

and many crafts without limit are practiced all the time, day in and day out.

The supreme palace of Kalāpa is made from all kinds of precious stones and rests on a square foundation.

It was made by divine artisans. (361b) On the right side of the city is an area filled with a forest of akara sandal wood.

There are found lakes of mind[237] which are sparkling, clear, and very attractive. As for what lies in the center of the country,

that has been explained. Three succcessive mālās of forest and valleys beautify it. It is fully ornamented with twenty-eight large towns

with suburbs and with many small countries. There are eight points together with walls of masonry at the border roads.

At those places one hundred thousand guardians command the way. On those glaciers and mountains are elephants and incense elephants

that have six tusks with pearls. The groves are beautified with many wild animals - some with five faces, others with eight legs,

still others with elephant faces, and flocks of birds, some with human bodies.[238] In the portion in back of the center are

ten beautiful, properly arranged mountains two krośa high. They are frequented[239] by Bzang skyong, Lhun po rtse 'dzin,

Sa yi snying po, Gtsug phud 'dzin, Halā hala, Sgrol mdzad pa, Lcang lo'i bdag po, Skra can ma, Don dam yang dag 'phags, and the tenth,

Ma rgyal ba las rgyal.[240] They are the sites of a hundred million dharmas, each of the ten attended all the time by ten thousand Bodhisattvas.

The vajra of the sky element[241] rests on the side of Kailāsa. Eight thousand medicinal herbs, many creatures of magic power,

and all kinds of fruit and flowers (362a) are always enjoyed there. There are limitless varieties of substances such as pearls,

moonstones, crystals, red sapphires, emeralds, right-hand conches, topaz, pieces of coral, aśmagarbha, and gold.

It is filled with many kinds of mercury. It is not difficult to find streaked lapis lazuli there and all kinds of nutritious food -

there are none that do not grow there. All kinds of clothes, according to one's wishes, are worn, and there are only a few people

who practice the ten paths of non-virtuous action.[242] Most stay in [the practice of] virtue. [The country] is held by countless ṛṣis

who stay on the path of the three yānas. All speak in the language of the gods.[243] As for the pople who live there,

their lives are not shorter than a hundred years. There is little death which is not [of the appropriate] time.

They are always happily enjoying the objects of their desires - but they never fall away from virtue.

Other than dharma and objects of desires, they enjoy wealth and the knowledge of the aim of liberation,

just as in the [age of] perfection.[244] There exists nothing else equal to this.

As for the sons of the king, whenever one is born, the light of precious jewels appears and for seven days a beautiful light emanates.

By that [sign] he is known as a Bodhisattva.

Large, fully extended flowers never before seen by anyone blossom forth in the houses. As for those,

they are the [sign of the] mother limb of the god.[245] The master of men together with the mother limb are without old age and sickness.

They (362b) always live by gentle laws. They are the equals of cakravartins.

Bodhisattvas and ṛṣis who possess the practice of mantras are always teaching the knowledge of reality [there].

They do not proceed by arguments, only by statements. All kinds of karma, the eight siddhis[246] and so forth,

and whatever other kinds of siddhis, [all these] are not difficult to find there in reality.

Each month the sādhaka will always take marvelous delight in the great speech of joyful dharma and the desirable siddhis

Mentioned above. Action without attachment, joy, a mind that is pure with the thought of completely virtuous practices, fine joy,

giving, patience, discipline, non-violence, one-pointedness, study, contemplation, recitation, worship - in accordance with [all that] is meditation on reality itself.

Because those words were spoken, all those assembled were immediately delighted.

The five hundred fortunate ones made circumambulations, prostrating themselves again and again.

Then the compassionate Master of the World smiled broadly and said, "Well done, well done. For the sake of the liberation

of many people has Amoghāṅkuśa enunciated this [itinerary]. Disciples, having heard it, should hold it always and impress it on their minds."

The five hundred intelligent ones, (363a) having attained the power of samādhi, went instantly to the six cities.[247]

Having expounded well the dharma of the supreme vehicle, they went by stages with this very method to the city of Kalāpa.

Four hundred among them obtained the great siddhis they desired. Those whose names were Rnam par mi rtog pa and so forth,

those who were the remainder, having understood the deep, extensive, and great method, returned once again to the six cities.

The Sūtra Collection of Don yod zhags pa in Fifty Thousand Verses; the Rig pa mchog gi 'bum sde and so forth; in addition,

all the knowledge mantras; the Method of Ekajatī;[248] the 'Jam pa'i rdo rje'i rtog pa of Twenty-five Thousand [Verses];[249] and many rituals were disseminated [by them].

By the merit from writing this means of entering Kalāpa may the sentient beings of the six realms become the equals of Mañjughoṣa.

This [itinerary] that has been enunciated is the so-called Entering into the Glorious Kalāpa. This treatise of dharma and methods of the great vehicle, to this extent, is finished.

Rgyal khams pa Tāranātha translated [this text] from a book from Nepal. Questioning the Brahmin pandita named Kṛṣṇa about the very difficult meanings and putting them down in order, he made corrections. Maṅgalaṃ.

The major feature to note in a preliminary analysis of the Kalāpāvatāra is the way the text divides into prose and poetry sections. The prose sections proper begin with the instructions for the actual journey to Śambhala and continue, with intermittent interruptions or interpolations of verse, through the beginning of the description of the kingdom near the end of the guidebook. The poetry sections, which comprise the introduction and end of the text, as well as the interpolations scattered throughout the main body, are mostly composed of seven syllable verses, with a few sections of nine and fifteen syllable verses.

An examination of their nature indicates that the prose sections are older than the poetry. Taken together, the former stand on their own as a complete account, focused primarily on a description of the journey to Śambhala. The poetry sections, on the other hand, do not stand on their own: they supply the introduction to the journey and a commentary on it, suggesting that they were composed later. In addition, the prose sections contain relatively straightforward language that is easy to read, whereas the sections in verse are much more cryptic and convoluted, written in a more ornamental style that would appear to be a later elaboration on the original text.

This preliminary analysis of the Kalāpāvatāra into prose and poetry sections is supported by Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes' use of the text in his guidebook to Śambhala. With a few exceptions, interesting for what they reveal about the role of symbolism in his adaptation of the journey,[250] he adopts almost all the prose and omits almost all the poetry, in particular the extended description of Śambhala that differs markedly from descriptions of the kingdom in other texts, including his own. He also drops the long introduction in verse with its account of the assembly to whom the itinerary is given and the poetic interpolations scattered throughout the text, which he evidently regarded as secondary and not integral to the journey. As the following chapters will demonstrate, this preliminary analysis of the Kalāpāvatāra into poetry and prose sections provides valuable clues for helping to decipher the development of the myth of Śambhala.

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[1]For a listing of canonical texts dealing with Kālacakra Tantra, see the preface of Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra, ed., Kālacakra-tantrarāja and Other Texts, Pt. 1 (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1966), pp. 8-10.

[2]Parama-ādibuddhoddhrita-śrī-kālacakra-nāma-tantrarāja, P. 4. The number with a 'P.' prefix stands for the number given the text in the Peking Edition of the Tibetan Canon published as The Tibetan Tripitaka, Peking Edition in Japan. See the Bibliography.

[3]For a discussion of the mūlatantra and the preaching of the Kālacakra at Dhānyakaṭaka see Hoffmann, "Buddha's Preaching of the Kālacakra Tantra," pp. 136 ff.

[4]For both Tibetan and Sanskrit texts, see Vira and Chandra, Kālacakra-tantrāja and Other Texts. See also the reference to Bu ston's version with interpolated notes below.

[5]Helmut Hoffmann, The Religions of Tibet, trans. E. Fitzgerald (New York: Macmillan, 1961), p. 126, and George Roerich, "Studies in the Kālacakra," Journal of Urusvati Himalayan Research Institute of Roerich Museum 2 (1931): 22.

[6]Kālacakratantrāja, 1.53, refers to Muhammad as 'Madhumati' (Hoffmann, "Kālacakra Studies I," pp. 56-60). Helmut Hoffmann maintains that the Kālacakra was introduced into India about A. D. 967 from another country (Ibid., p. 53). John Newman, on the other hand, argues that the Kālacakra first openly appeared in India in the beginning of the eleventh century (Newman, pp. 65).

[7]Vimalaprabhā-nāma-mūlatantrānusāriṇī-dvādaśasāhasrikā-laghukālacakra-tantrarāja-ṭīkā, P. 2064. See the next chapter for a discussion of the terms rigs ldan and kalki.

[8]See the next chapter for references and a discussion of the story.

[9]Tibetan text in The Tibetan Tripitaka, Peking Edition, ed. Daisetz T. Suzuki (Tokyo-Kyoto: Tibetan Tripitaka Research Institute, 1958), 46:121-335; Sanskrit text in Film-strip no. MBB I-24 (Stony Brook, N.Y.: The Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religions, 1971). See also the reference to Bu ston's version with interpolated notes below.

[10]Kalāpāvatāra, P. 5908.

[11]Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes, Grub pa'i gnas chen po sham bha la'i rnam bshad 'phags yul gyi rtogs brjod dang bcas pa (block print, Bkra shis lhun po edition).

[12]Bu ston rin chen grub, Mchog gi dang po'i sangs rgyas las phyung ba rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i bsdus pa'i rgyud gi sla'i mchen bcas and 'Jig rten khams kyi le'u'i 'grel bshad dri ma med pa'i od mchan bcas, in The Collected Works of Bu-ston, ed. Lokesh Chandra (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture,

1965), Pt. 1, pp. 1-299, 301-603. The second work covers only the first chapter of the Vimalaprabhā, the Lokhadātupatala, which is the chapter dealing with the world and the one in which references to Śambhala and its history occur.

[13]See Ruegg, Life of Bu ston. According to Roerich, Blue Annals, p. 794, "In general (one can say) that although there were many men learned in the system of the Kālacakra, as well as many siddhas, in the domain of the detailed exposition of the system, Bu himself was preeminent, the chief and the best."

[14]Mkhas grub dge legs dpal bzang po, Dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i 'grel chen dri med pa'i 'od gyi rgya cher bshad pa de kho na nyid snang bar byed, in The Collected Works (Gsung 'Bum) of the Lord Mkhas-grub Rje Dge-legs-dpal-bzang-po, rep. from 1897 Lhasa Dga'-ldan-phun-tshogs-gling blocks (New Delhi: Mongolian Lama Gurudeva, 1980), 2:97-1114.

[15]See the translations later in this chapter. Mkhas Grub rje took these stories almost verbatim from Bu ston - see note below.

[16]Tucci, Tibetan Painted Scrolls 1, p. 120.

[17]Mkhas grub rje was unable to finish his commentary - he only wrote on the first and second chapters of the Vimalaprabhā and a section of the third - see Vostrikov, p. 121, n. 363, for a discussion of the text and its date.

[18]Stag tshang lo tsā ba shes rab rin chen, Dus 'khor spyi don bstan pa'i rgya mtsho, rep. Trayang and Jamyang Samten (New Delhi: Trayang and Jamyang Samten, 1973).

[19]ibid., 295-96.

[20]Dus kyi 'khor lo'i lo rgyus dang Śambhala'i zhing bkod bcas and Rgyal ba tsong kha pa'i lugs dang mthun pa rnams phyogs gcig tu btus pa'i dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i ming gi rnam grangs, in Tibetan Buddhist Studies of Klong-rdol bla-ma Ngag-dbang blo-bzang, ed. Ven Dalama (Mussoorie: Ven. Dalama, 1963), 1:125-52 and 1:152-81. Tucci and Stein, for example, both refer to Klong rdol bla ma's works in their remarks on Śambhala (Tucci, Tibetan Painted Scrolls 2, p. 599, and Stein, Recherches, p. 309 n. 85, etc.).

[21]Śambhala'i zhing bkod, pp. 150-51. See the discussion of the prayer below. Tucci is of the opinion that Klong rdol bla ma also copied parts of the Dus kyi 'khor lo'i ming gi rnam grangs from Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes' Śambhala'i lam yig (Tucci, Tibetan Painted Scrolls 2, p. 599).

[22]Chos 'byung.

[23]Sa skya paṇḍita kun dga' rgyal mtshan (Sakya Pandita), Sdom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba, in The Complete Works of the Great Masters of the Sa Skya Sect of the Tibetan Buddhism, ed. Bsod-nams rgya-mtsho (Tokyo: Toyo Bunko, 1968), 5:297-320.

[24]Ibid., 312.

[25]Bu ston, Dus 'khor chos 'byung gryud sde'i zab don sgo 'byed rin chen gces pa'i lde mig, in The Collected Works of Bu-ston, Pt. 4, pp. 53 ff.

[26]Ibid., pp. 56-61.

[27]Mkhas grub rje, pp. 167-73.

[28]Translated in Roerich, Blue Annals, pp. 753-838.

[29]Ibid., pp. 790-91. Roerich interjects a note that Man lung pa was "a famous Tibetan pilgrim who wrote a lengthy account of the holy places of India, Man lungs pa'i lam yig, on which the Byang Śambhala'i lam yig by Dpal ldan ye shes, the Third Paṇ chen bla ma of bKra shis lhun po was based." In fact, as will become apparent in the translations later in this chapter, Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes's Śambhala'i lam yig was not based on Man lung pa's guidebook.

[30]Pad ma dkar po, Tibetan Chronicle of Padma-dkar-po (Chos 'byung tsan pa'i pad ma rgyas pa'i nynin byed ces bya ba), ed. Lokesh Chandra (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1968), 205-26.

[31]Tāranātha, Dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i chos skor gyi 'byung khungs nyer mkho, in The Collected Works of Jo-nang Rje-btsun Tāranātha (Reproduced from prints of Rtag brtan phu tshogs gling blocks at Stog Palace in Leh, Ladakh: C. Namgyal & Tsewang Taru, 1984), 2: 1-43. The entire second volume of Tāranātha's collected works, in which this

history is found, consists of nothing but works on the Kālacakra - eleven of the twelve devoted to explicating the practice of the tantra.

[32]See discussion and notes on Stag tshang lo tsā ba above.

[33]Sumpa Khan-po Yeçe Pal Jor, Pag Sam Jon Zang (Dpag bsam ljon bzang), ed. Sarat Chandra Das (Calcutta: Presidency Jail Press, 1908).

[34]Sarat Chandra Das, "Life of Sum-pa Khan-po, also styled Yeśas Dpal-ḥbyor, the Author of the Reḥumig (Chronological Table)," Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 58, pt. 1 (1889), p. 83. Vostrikov, pp. 130-37, points out that Das' translation of this chronological table is very unreliable: it leaves out passages and mistranslates others.

[35]Grub mtha' thams cad kyi khungs dang 'dod tshul ston pa legs bshad shel gyi me long, section 12, in Collected Works of Thu'u-bkwan Blo-bzang-chos-kyi-nyi-ma, ed. Ngawang Gelek Demo (Delhi: Jayyed Press, 1969), 2:483-519.

[36]K'am-trül Rinpoche, Gar-je, "A Geography and History of Shambhala," trans. Sherpa Tulku and Alexander Berzin, The Tibet Journal 3, no. 3 (1978), pp. 3-11.

[37]T. Tsepal Taikhang, ed., The Vaidūrya dkar po of Sde-srid Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho 1 (New Delhi: T. Tsepal Taikhang, 1972).

[38]Smon lam or pranidhana.

[39]Śambhalar skye ba'i smon lam rig 'dzin grong du bgrod pa'i them skas zhes bya ba, in The Collected Works (Gsung 'Bum) of Blo-bzang-dam chos-rgya-mtsho, Rong-tha Che-tshang Sprul-sku, rep. Ngawang Sopa (New Delhi: Ngawang Sopa, 1975), 6:462-68.

[40]Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes, Sham bha lar skye ba'i smon lam, quoted in Klong rdol bla ma, Śambhala'i zhing bkod, pp. 150-51.

[41]See the discussion of Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes's guidebook, the Śambhala'i lam yig, below.

[42]Rnam thar.

[43]Tāranātha, second Gsang ba'i rnam thar, in The Collected Works of Jo-nang Rje-btsun Tāranātha (Reproduced from prints of Rtag brtan phu tshogs gling blocks at Stog Palace in

Leh, Ladakh: C. Namgyal & Tsewang Taru, 1982), 1: 682-683. Secret autobiographies describe inner experiences of meditation.

[44]For a translation of the account of the dream, which I recorded in India, see Edwin Bernbaum, The Way to Shambhala (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1980),pp. 168-74.

[45]R. A. Stein, Tibetan Civilization, trans. J. E. Stapleton Driver (London: Faber and Faber, 1972), pp. 88-89; David-Neel, pp. 44-45.

[46]Stein, L'épopée tibétaine de Gésar, p. 216. The text reads, "I bow down to the rigs ldan of the north, 'Drag po 'khor lo can, who is none other than Gesar, the Jewel, Conqueror of Enemies." 'Drag po 'khor lo can is Raudra Cakrin or Raudra Kalki in the Sanskrit versions of the Kālacakratantrāja and Vimalaprabhā.

[47]Ibid., pp. 12-14.

[48]Stein, Recherches sur l'pope, pp. 524-28. See the discussion of Stein's work in chapter 1 above.

[49]See chapter 3 below.

[50]Ibid., p. 587.

[51]Ibid., p. 242. In an enumeration of what characterizes each of the four quarters, the poem speaks of the 'army of Gesar' in the northern quarter. The song itself may have been composed later and attributed to Mi la ras pa.

[52]Rin spungs ngag dbang 'jigs grags kyis rang gi yab la phul ba'i zhu 'phrin rig pa dzin pa'i pho nya, (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1974). Referred to hereafter as Rig pa dzin pa'i pho nya.

[53]For a discussion of the influence of the Meghadūta on this work, see chapter 4 below.

[54]See the discussion in chapter 1 of the nature of a fully mythic journey and what distinguishes it from a literary or allegorical journey.

[55]Text and translation in Wylie, The Geography of Tibet.

[56]Ibid., fol. 144a.

[57]Ibid., fols. 122b-123a. For a discussion of the text and the question of Christopher Columbus and Śambhala, see Idem., "Was Christopher Columbus from Śambhala?". The article was discussed in chapter 1 above.

[58]See Bernbaum, Way to Shambhala, pp. 157-68.

[59]See chapters 3 and 6 below.

[60]For an example of this kind of painting of Śambhala, see Tucci, Tibetan Painted Scrolls, Tanka no. 178, plates 211-13.

[61]See Bernbaum, The Way to Shambhala, pp. 165-66.

[62]The Tibetan term lam yig, which we are translating as 'guidebook' means literally 'road letter'. It often refers to a kind of passport or written permission for travel. However, the term is also used for itineraries or guidebooks giving directions on how to go somewhere. In the case of the Śambhala'i lam yigs, it is clearly being used in this second sense.

[63]Śambhala pa'i lam yig (anonymous ms., 20 folios, no date).

[64]Laufer, "Zur buddhistischen Litteratur," pp. 404-07.

[65]Śambhala'i lam yig, fol. 34a.

[66]Blue Annals, pp. 640, 790-91, 838. Man lung pa's teacher was a master of the Kālacakra, and Man lung pa himself translated the Sekoddeśa of the Kālacakrottaratantra. Man lung pa was born in 1239.

[67]Śambhala pa'i lam yig, fols. 15a-17b.

[68]The description of the kingdom itself reflects familiarity with standard Kālacakra texts describing Śambhala. Also, Man lung pa adds that he has relied on some written records and sayings of old Tibetans for his account of the journey to Śambhala - this in addition to the information he received in a dream (Man lung pa, fol. 17a).

[69]Queen Khom khom in Laufer, p. 404. Kho bom is an early Tibetan name for Kathmandu (Das, Tibetan-English Dictionary, p. 151).

[70]Li is the region around Khotan. The six countries refers to the six regions of Jambudvīpa, from India in the south to Kailāsa or Himavat in the north.

[71]Lcags ri gru bzhi.

[72]A scribal error for Sītā. 'Sītā' often appears in Tibetan texts as 'Shi ta'.

[73]The name Hor has referred to a number of different peoples: it was given first to the Uighurs of Kanchow around A.D. 800 and later used for the Mongols of Genghiz Khan (Stein, Tibetan Civilization, p. 34). It may be referring to the former here since the Uighurs do live in the region of Central Asia north of Tibet near and along the Tarim River, to which the River Sītā in this text would seem to correspond.

[74]One hundred and ten camels in Laufer, p. 405.

[75]An apparent reference to the three sections of Śambhala viewed in cross-section: the central section of the lotus blossom flanked by two of the petal-shaped regions.

[76]The name Sog po has also referred to different peoples: it probably comes the name of the ancient Sogdians, but Tibetan texts use it to refer to nomadic tribes of Mongolian origin in the Koko Nor area and to Mongolians in general (Stein, Tibetan Civilization, p. 34).

[77]The meaning of the passage is confused. It seems to be saying that on the east side there is a river and a way followed by birds, but not by people.

[78]The region of western Tibet near Ladakh.

[79]Stod hor - the Tartars of Bokhara and Khotan, according to Das, Tibetan-English Dictionary, p. 554.

[80]I am not sure what 'the three countries of the Sog po' refers to.

[81]See discussion and notes above and translations below.

[82]Pad ma dkar po, fols. 67a ff. A summary of one of his accounts appears in Hoffmann, Religions of Tibet, pp. 127-28.

[83]For accounts of these lineages and their relation to the journeys of different Indian pandits to Śambhala, see Roerich, "Studies in the Kālacakra," pp. 17-22; Hoffmann, Religions of Tibet, pp. 127-30; Newman, pp. 66-78.

[84]Or bi sa.

[85]Tu ru ka.

[86]Byang byub sems dpa'i skor - the circle, subject, division, or body of the Bodhisattvas. Roerich takes it as 'the knowledge of the Bodhisattvas'; Newman takes it as the Bodhisattva corpus (Newman, p. 67).

[87]Bu ston, Dus 'khor chos 'byung, pp. 56-57; Mhas grub rje, pp. 167-68. The translation here has made use of Roerich's translation of Mkhas grub rje's passage, which is the same as Bu ston's (Roerich, "Studies in the Kālacakra," p. 18). Another translation of this passage that was helpful appears in Newman, pp. 66-67.

[88]Dus zhabs pa chen po (Mkhas grub rje, p. 169)

[89]Dkyil 'khor khang pa. Malaya is the name of a park near the palace of Kalāpa in Śambhala.

[90]Bu ston, Dus 'khor chos 'byung, p. 58; Mkhas grub rje, p. 169. Translations in Roerich, "Studies in the Kālacakra," p. 19, and Newman, p. 68. In the Rva lineage Kālacakrapāda the Elder is the disciple of Pito or Pindo, who is the disciple of Cilupa. Kālacakrapāda the Elder's disciple, in turn, is Kālacakrapāda the Younger (Dus zhabs chung ba). Cilupa does not appear in the 'Bro lineage; rather, Kālacakrapāda the Elder takes his place as the first Indian pandit to obtain Kālacakra teachings from Śambhala - or an emissary of Śambhala. For an analysis of the two lineages, see Newman, pp. 71-76, especially the schematic diagram on p. 76.

[91]Mkhas grub rje, p. 171-72, translations in Roerich, "Studies in the Kālachakra," pp. 20-21, and Newman, pp. 69-70.

[92]Yamāntaka plays a very important role in the sādhanas performed on the way to Śambhala in the Kalāpāvatāra and Śambhala'i lam yig - see translations below.

[93]Mkhas grub rje says that various sources identify the rigs ldan at the time of Kālacakrapāda's journey variously as Dpal skyong, Seng ge, Ma dag pa, or Nyi ma (Mkhas grub rje, p. 171). Newman concludes that it must be the first, Dpal skyong or Śrīpāla (Newman, p. 69).

[94]The second rigs ldan or kalki king of Śambhala.

[95]A reference to the Buddha's prophecy concerning the kings of Śambhala in the Kālacakratantrāja, probably from the longer version that has been lost.

[96]Kulaputra. Note the similarity to the 'Bro lineage account above in which Kālacakrapāda's parents practice a ritual for birth according to the Yamāntaka Tantra.

[97]Kālacakrapāda is regarded as an emanation of Mañjuśrī in the 'Bro lineage - see the account of his journey according to that lineage immediately above.

[98]'Gos lo tsā ba has clearly compiled a number of accounts from both the Rva and 'Bro lineages - the instructions from Tārā, the version of the phantom monk, etc., all come from the Rva lineage as the stories above show. Note the various ways of travel to Śambhala, some mundane, others magical, mythical, and meditative. The first version corresponds to the kind of journey described in Man lung pa's guidebook above; the second suggests the kind of journey in the Kalāpāvatāra below; and the third is a dream or visionary journey like that of Khamtrul Rinpoche mentioned above.

[99]Roerich's translation of Gos Lo tsā ba's account in Roerich, Blue Annals, pp. 756-57. 'Gos lo tsā ba's choice of which statement to accept suggests yet another tradition not mentioned in the 'Bro and Rva lineages.

[100]Śambhala'i lam yig, fols. 6a-34a, 34a-49b.

[101]See the analysis of this text and the myth of Śambhala in the next chapter. The subdivision of the Śambhala'i lam yig describing the journey to Śambhala runs from fol. 34a to fol. 41b.

[102]Ibid., fol. 35a.

[103]Ibid., fol. 34a.

[104]Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes mentions that that he also relied on the Kālacakra commentary by Rdo rje 'chang blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po, the first Dalai Lama, and examined such other sources as the guidebook to Śambhala that came from a dream - presumably that of Man lung pa (Ibid., fol. 50a).

[105]Ibid., fols. 49b-50a.

[106]Ibid., fol. 34b. Warren Hastings, the British Viceroy in India, sent Bogle on a mission to explore ways of increasing trade with Tibet. Bogle was befriended by Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes and his account of his visit to Tibet includes an intimate picture of the Panchen Lama (see David Snellgrove and Hugh Richardson, A Cultural History of Tibet [New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968], pp. 225-26).

[107]Grünwedel, p. 5; Vostrikov, p. 232.

[108]This 'commentary' is one made in the dissertation. It is not a traditional commentary. 'Commentary' is used here for lack of a better term.

[109]'Jig rten dbang phyug, i.e. Avalokiteśvara.

[110]Jina, i.e. the Buddha.

[111]A common epithet for 'lakes'.

[112]This verse section is composed of nine syllable lines.

[113]Dga' ba brgya phrag 'bad pa. The Sde dge has dka' or 'difficulties' for dga'. Dga' ba brgya pa is also an epithet for Viṣṇu (Das, Tibetan-English Dictionary, p. 265).

[114]Mañjuśrī, the 'Youthful One'.

[115]Or else, 'purpose' or 'aim' (don, artha).

[116]Rig ngags, vidyā. For a Tibetan explanation of the three different kinds of mantra - gsang ngags (mantra), rig sngags (vidyā), and gzung snags (dhāraṇī) - see Alex Wayman, The Buddhist Tantras: Light on Indo-Tibetan Esotericism (New York: Samuel Weiser, 1973), pp. 64-65.

[117]A wrathful form of Tārā (Franklin Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary [New Haven, 1953; rep., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1977], p. 152), and Alice Getty, The Gods of Northern Buddhism, 2nd ed. [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928], p. 125).

[118]A form or manifestation of Avolakiteśvara (see the discussion of him in chapter 3).

[119]A Buddha is one who possesses the ten powers (stobs bcu, daśabala). Sarat Chandra Das enumerates the ten powers as: the power of reflection (āśayabala), the power of

concentration (adhyāsabala), the power of acquisition (pratipattibala), the power of wisdom (prajñābala or jñānabala), the power of resolute prayer (pranidhānabala), the power of the way or vehicle (yānabala), the power of performance (caryyābala), the power of changing shape (vikurvānabala), the power of enlightenment or a bodhisattva (bodhisattvabala), and the power of setting the wheel of dharma in motion (dharmacakrapravarttanabala) - see Das, Tibetan-English Dictionary, p. 556.

[120]'Jig rten mgon, Protector of the World - an epithet for Avalokiteśvara. The same or similar epithet is used for Śiva, a point dealt with at some length in Chapter 4 below.

[121]The mother of Śākyamuni Buddha.

[122]Siddhis.

[123]The hungry ghosts who inhabit one of the six realms of samsāra.

[124]'Phrog byed.

[125]Tohoku no. 106. Since the names of most of the texts listed here are not standard, many of the identifications by Tohoku number are tentative and based on Hiroshi Sonami's best estimate. For that reason also, the titles have been left as given in the Tibetan text, unless their identity is obvious. The Tohoku numbers refer to the numbers given to works in the Sde dge edition of the Tibetan Canon in Ui Hakuju et al., eds., A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons (Bkah-hgyur and Bstan-hgyur) and A Catalogue-Index of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons (Bkah-hgyur and Bstan-hgyur) (Sendai, Japan: Tohoku Imperial University, 1934).

[126]Tohoku no. 230.

[127]Tohoku no. 891.

[128]Tohoku no. 231.

[129]Tohoku no. 213.

[130]Tohoku no. 1066 ?

[131]Tohoku no. 49.

[132]Tohoku no. 50.

[133]The last two probably come from the Āryamahāratnakūṭadharmaparyāyaśatasahasrikagranthe trisaṃvaranirdeśaparivarta, Tohoku no. 45.

[134]The last few come from the Avataṃsaka Sūtra, Tohoku no. 44.

[135]Possibly the Kālacakratantrottaratantrahṛdaya, Tohoku no. 363.

[136]Nges par bstan pa.

[137]Tohoku no. 386.

[138]Hevajratantrarāja, Tohoku no. 417.

[139]Tohoku no. 479.

[140]Dam pa dang po'i sangs rgyas rgyud. Dang po'i sangs rgyas (Ādibuddha) is often used in Tibetan to refer to the Kālacakra. However, Hiroshi Sonami pointed out that the phrase that includes it here is meant to modify the title of the following work - see next note.

[141]Tohoku no. 425.

[142]Tohoku no. 428

[143]Rnam par phye ba.

[144]Ajita, epithet of Maitreya.

[145]Literally, "not reversed" - ma log.

[146]Hindus, those who visit the sacred fords of Hinduism.

[147]Snags rig rnam. The Sde dge has snags rigs rnam. It could mean "those who have knowledge of mantras, or who have knowledge mantras."

[148]Rig pa.

[149]Or, lineage. The word used here is rgyud.

[150]Shes pa dang ldan pa.

[151]Dod pa'i lha, iṣṭadevata.

[152]Bzlas brjod.

[153]Mtshan ma'i dge ba.

[154]Or rituals (cho ga, vidhi).

[155]Homa.

[156]Since transliterations of names of plants, etc., are often obscure and/or corrupt in the Kalāpāvatāra, the translation will use either the most likely correct Sanskrit terms or else the transliterations as they appear in the Tibetan text itself.

[157]Rig pa - for rig snags or vidyā.

[158]Bdud rtsi 'kyil pa -'The One with the Coil of Nectar'. In the Vajravidāraṇānāmadhāraṇī, he is one of the group of ten krodha or wrathful deities that also includes Yamāntaka (see F. D. Lessing and Alex Wayman, trans. and ed., Introduction to the Buddhist Tantric Systems, 2nd ed. [New York: Samuel Weiser, 1980], p. 118 n. 18). According to Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann, Amṛtakuṇḍalin, Yamāntaka and Acala are the most important of the ten Krodhas. Another name for him is Vighnāntaka, 'Destroyer of Obstacles' - one of his mantras is "Oṃ amṛtakuṇḍali vighnāntaka hūṃ." His consort Ekajaṭī also destroys obstacles (Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann, Introduction à l'iconographie du tantrisme bouddhique [Paris, 1975], pp. 447-48).

[159]The text has abhira.

[160]Vajrabhairava is a form or manifestation of Yamāntaka, the wrathful form of Mañjuśrī.

[161]Or, ritual.

[162]Or, this method (or, ritual) of knowledge (rig pa'i cho ga).

[163]The bodhi tree at the vajrāsana at Bodhgaya.

[164]The text apparently is referring to the Arabian Sea west of the Indian subcontinent.

[165]Possibly a mistransliteration for Sikhādhara.

[166]A Buddha preceding Śākyamuni Buddha. See chapter 3 on the founding of the stūpa of Dhānyakaṭaka during his time.

[167]Or, vapti.

[168]Or, anantavapti.

[169]A reference to foreigners, generally European (Das, Tibetan-English Dictionary, p. 817).

[170]India.

[171]Dbang po'i phyogs.

[172]Or, Rukma.

[173]Or, Kaṭakīla

[174]Or, Madhuvānadha.

[175]Probably a mistaken transliteration of Śatradu, the Sutlej River that has its source in the western Himālaya.

[176]Apparently Kakāri, the snow mountain mentioned in the previous passage.

[177]Or, petals ('dab ma).

[178]Phur bu.

[179]Ga sha, uttarīyavastra, a cloth worn by practitioners of tantra.

[180]The Sde dge has phyar ba, 'held aloft', for phyang ba, 'hanging down', in the Peking.

[181]Tshangs par spyod [pa].

[182]Snags pa, mantrin.

[183]The text has Gandhara, without the ā.

[184]Lus sgyur ba.

[185]Both Tibetan names refer to Yamāntaka.

[186]Gangs chen. The Sanskrit may be Mahāhimavat.

[187]One of the 16 arhats or sthavīra, an important group of original disciples of the Buddha Śākyamuni.

[188]Srid gsum gnas kyi rgyud.

[189]Or, who are friends of Kāmadeva - tshangs 'joms de yi grogs.

[190]This interpolated verse section is obscure and hard to follow. In any case, it does not seem to add much of significance to the guidebook.

[191]Rgya mtsho dug can pa. Dug can pa means 'that which possesses poison or is poisonous', an epithet of sāgara, the ocean. It could be referring in this passage either to the ocean in general or, more specifically, to one of the seven oceans surrounding Sumeru, the ocean of poison.

[192]Glog 'gyu ma.

[193]Bdag po.

[194]Riding on an elephant would make more sense in this context, but the text has za ba, 'feeding or eating'.

[195]A game animal, as Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes makes clear in his text.

[196]The god of death.

[197]Literally, "Because that river is extremely cold, it suppresses by its power, moreover, all touch (or, reaching) of snow and wind on top of the ground." The Tibetan reads: "Chu klung de'i rab tu grang bas ni, sa'i steng gi gangs dan rlung po'i reg pa thams cad kyang zil gyis gnon pa'i ..."

[198]Bharata'i dum bu.

[199]Śambhala'i lam yig, fol. 34b. Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes refers to Kabul and Balkh as Kabhela and Bhalaga or Bhalaka.

[200]Bskul byed ma, a female manifestation of Vajrasattva, whose image appears in her headdress (Getty, p. 129). Mallmann adds that Cundā belongs to the series of the Dhāraṇīs - goddesses associated with sacred formulae or spells called dhāraṇīs (Mallmann, Introduction à l'iconographie, pp. 143, 150).

[201]Gzungs sngags.

[202]This verse section is composed of nine syllable lines.

[203]The text has "fit to see", but this is clearly a mistaken reading of mthong ba for 'thung ba. The Sde dge, in fact, compromises between the two and has 'thong ba (fol. 321b).

[204]Those of body, speech, and mind.

[205]This verse section is composed of fifteen syllable lines.

[206]This is the Tibetan transliteration of Maināka according to Das, Tibetan-English Dictionary, p. 971. Das points out that in the Bka 'gyur, sūtra section ra 287, there is a reference to asuras and women with faces resembling horses living on the mountain. For a discussion of Maināka in Hindu mythology, particularly in the journey to Uttarakuru in the Rāmāyana, see chapter 4 below.

[207]Probably for karkoṭa.

[208]The Sde dge has Sitālotana.

[209]Nam mkha'i mdzod.

[210]The text has "in this place", but "for this purpose" makes more sense, especially since Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes has it.

[211]The passage is convoluted and difficult to follow - it may simply be corrupt.

[212]Or, Bhadsyana.

[213]Bharadau in the Sde dge.

[214]The text has Rgya yul rather than the more common Rgya nag. Similarly for Mahācina, which follows.

[215]Svalpala in the Sde dge.

[216]Or else, by dwelling in emptiness or by the practice of emptiness - stong pa nyid kyi gnas pas.

[217]Bhona in the Sde dge.

[218]Lasudhabhona in the Sde dge.

[219]Srabhona in the Sde dge, Prabhoṭa in the Śambhala'i lam yig.

[100]Candrakama in the Śambhala'i lam yig. The original Sanskrit is probably Candrakāla.

[221]The text has matāla.

[222]The original Sanskrit may be nāgamālā.

[223]The Sde dge has somalardha.

[224]Sdig pa. Sanskrit equivalents are mala, pāpa, aśubha, etc. Another translation for the term here might be "evil propensities".

[225]The text gives her Sanskrit name, Bhṛkuṭī, and adds a Tibetan name or description of her as Thor tshugs gcig ma or 'She of One Plaited Tuft of Hair'. According to Getty, pp. 124-25, Bhṛkuṭī is usually a ferocious form of Yellow Tārā and is sometimes associated with Ekajaṭī as the Blue Tārā. Her description in this text as Thor tshugs gcig ma is a Tibetan translation of Ekajaṭī, 'She of one plait of hair', which is more usually translated as Ral gcig ma. Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes has clearly taken Bhṛkuṭī here as one and the same as Ekajaṭī - see the commentary below on his adaptation of this passage.

[226]Gangs kyi puṇḍarīka.

[227]Thams cad la 'jug pa'i shes rab thogs pa med pa.

[228]Ekajaṭī or Ekajaṭā.

[229]The Sde dge has Śunikaraṇa.

[230]Kun tu dga ba.

[231]Sdig pa, as before.

[232]Sgrib pa, āvaraṇa.

[233]Smon lam.

[234]Referring to the place where the bhūtas, ghostly attendants of Śiva, live - that is, the residence of Śiva himself.

[235]Nīlakaṇṭha, the usual epithet for Śiva, referring to the well-known Hindu myth about the way his neck turned blue from drinking the poison created when the devas and asuras churned the ocean for the nectar of immortality.

[236]The passage places Kailāsa within the country of Kalāpa and associates it explicitly with the dwelling place of Śiva - both points of significance to be examined in more detail in subsequent chapters of this dissertation.

[237]Yid kyi mtsho. Since it is modified by yid 'ong ba'i, 'attractive to the mind', the expression here refers to lakes of mind, not simply to attractive lakes. It may also be a translation of mānasa, 'pertaining to mind', the name of the famous lake near the foot of Kailāsa - see chapter 4.

[238]The supernatural animals described here reflect the magical nature of the country as an earthly paradise.

[239]Or, held, brten pa. Another meaning could be that they are the images of the deities whose names follow.

[240]According to Klong rdol bla ma, images of these deities are placed on the ten mountains, which he describes as "rock mountains like crystal". He refers to the deities as ten Bodhisattvas and clarifies some of their identities by listing them as follows: Bzang skyong, Lun po rtse 'dzin, Sa'i snying po, Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara Hālāhala, Āryā Tārā, the Lord of Secrets Vajrapāṇi, Lha mo skra can ma, Don dam yang dag 'phags, and Maitreya (Klong rdol bla ma, Śambhala'i zhing bkod, pp. 130-31). Newman translates all of these names from Klong rdol bla ma into Sanskrit as follows: Bhadrapāla, Meruśikharadhara, Kṣitigarbha, Mañjuśrī, Avalokitahālāhala, Āryā Tārā, Vajrapāṇi, Devī Keśinī, Paramārthasamudgata, and Maitreya (Newman, "A Brief History of the Kalachakra," p. 55).

[241]Mkha khams rdo rje rnam par gnas.

[242]These would be the opposites of the ten virtures, dge ba bcu - not to take life, not to take what is not given, to observe purity of morals, to speak the truth, to speak gently, not to break a promise, not to speak slander, not to covet another's property, not to think of doing injury to others, and to have pure views (Das, Tibetan-English Dictionary, p. 270.

[243]That is, Sanskrit.

[244]Rdzogs ldan.

[245]An apparent reference to a sign of the queen mother, as the following sentence indicates.

[246]The eight siddhis are the attainments of: 1) a sword that grants all one's wishes, 2) magic pills with miraculous powers of healing, 3) an eye-salve that bestows claivoyance, 4) the power of rapid walking, 5) a magic elixir that transforms old age into youth, 6) the power to make love with goddesses, 7) the power to conceal one's body among crowds,

and 8) the power to pass through walls, rocks, mountains, and so forth (see Garma C. C. Chang, trans. and annot., Teachings of Tibetan Yoga [New Hyde Park, N.Y.: University Books, 1963], p. 118).

[247]Probably the cities from which the five hundred fortunate ones had come - the four mentioned at the beginning of the text and two others, names unspecified. The four cities mentioned previously are Kosala, Vaiśalī, Videha, and Mithilā.

[248]Tohoku no. 1734?

[249]Tohoku no. 1902, from the Guhyasamāja Tantra.

[250]See chapter 5 below.

Chapter 3
Analysis of the Myth

The myth of Śambhala breaks down into three basic themes of the messianic history and prophecy of a golden age to come, the earthly paradise, and the mythic journey to such a place. These themes are reflected in the numerous histories of Śambhala that culminate in the prophecy of the defeat of the mlecchas and the establishment of a golden age of Buddhism, in the descriptions of the kingdom itself as an idyllic hidden sanctuary of Buddhist teachings, and in the guidebooks to Śambhala that give directions for something more than an ordinary journey across the deserts and mountains of Central Asia.

This analysis of the myth derives from Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes' treatment of the subject in his guidebook to Śambhala. There he divides his section on Śambhala into subsections that suggest the three basic themes noted above. He gives these subsections the following titles: "Explanation of the way to go to Śambhala", "Explanation of the nature of the country", and "Explanation of how the kings and dharma abide there"[1]. The first subsection, which was seen in the last chapter to follow closely the Kalāpāvatāra, presents a journey of a non-ordinary, mythic nature. The second describes the the kingdom as an earthly paradise in which all worldly needs are provided and where conditions are ideal for religious practice, while the third focuses on the apocalyptic battle against the mlecchas and the subsequent establishment of a golden age of material comfort and spiritual teachings.

1. Messianic History and Prophecy

Nearly all sources that deal with the myth of Śambhala refer, if only in passing, to the history and prophecy of the kingdom. In a striking exception to this rule, the Kalāpāvatāra omits any reference to the major features of the theme: the preaching of the Kālacakra at the stūpa of Dhānyakaṭaka, the line of kings preserving the tantra in Śambhala, the battle against the mlecchas, and the golden age to come. The anomaly resulting from the omission of these features will prove useful in dating the composition of the original Sanskrit version of that text in India.

In a few sources, primarily Bu ston and Stag tshang lo tsā ba, the history of Śambhala begins with the founding of the kingdom. A legend concerning this subject appears in Stag tshang lo tsā ba's account of the myth, drawn from an earlier account in Bu ston.[2] Briefly, it tells of a Śākya Śambha who escaped the slaughter of the Śākya clan by King Virūḍhaka and fled north over snow mountains to a country that he conquered through subterfuge, slicing a rock in two with his sword and claiming that he was a messenger of the even more powerful Śākya Śambha, who was coming behind him. The people were so impressed by his power that they made him their king and named the country Śambhala after his name.

Since the legend does not appear in the Kālacakratantrarāja and Vimalaprabhā, it may be a later addition to the myth, formulated in Tibet rather than India. It clearly derives from an older Buddhist account of the slaughter of the Śākya clan during the lifetime of Śākyamuni Buddha and the flight of several princes over snow mountains to the northwest, where they founded kingdoms, one or more of which may have served as a prototype for Śambhala itself. One of these princes, Śākya Śambaka, built a stūpa named Śambaka in the country of Bakuda, whose inhabitants chose him to be their king much as

the inhabitants of the land that came to be known as Śambhala chose Śākya Śambha to be their king in Bu ston's account summarized above.[3]

The story of Śākya Śambha also shows affinities with the well-known legend of Kunāla and the founding of Khotan in the time of Aśoka. According to an account recorded by Hsüan-tsang, Kunāla, a son of Aśoka was blinded by Aśoka's queen in revenge for not responding to her sexual advances. He (or else functionaries from Takṣaśilā, who carried out her orders)[4] was banished and went over the mountains with followers to settle and found the kingdom of Khotan.[5] Since Khotan was an important oasis north of India, in the direction of the mythical Śambhala, it may well have served as an historical prototype for the hidden kingdom. In that case a connection between the legends of the founding of both places would be logical. It would also bring to bear on the myth of Śambhala the influence of Vaiśravaṇa, guardian king of the north, as a model for the northern kings of Śambhala - an important influence that will be explored in more detail later. The famous prophecy of Khotan, the Li'i yul lung bstan pa, which appears in the Bstan 'gyur section of the Tibetan Canon, makes Vaiśravaṇa the mythical ancestor of the kings of Khotan. According to the myth, Vaiśravaṇa flew over the consort of Aśoka, who was visiting Khotan at the time, and at the sight of him, she became pregnant and gave birth to a son who became the first of the Khotanese kings.[6] There is also an important prophecy in which the last monks of Khotan have to leave the kingdom and seek refuge first in Tibet and then in India, where an argument between the last scholar and the last arhat results in their deaths and the end of Buddhism.[7] This prophecy, which predates the myth of Śambhala and was influential enough to appear in the Tibetan Canon, may well have influenced the prophecy of Śambhala, which also speaks about the destruction of Buddhism.[8]

In the majority of sources, including the earliest, the Kālacakratantrāja and Vimalaprabhā, the history of Śambhala begins with the preaching of the Kālacakra by the Buddha at the stūpa of Dhānyakaṭaka in southern India. A few later sources, dating from

the sixteenth century, suggest that Dhānyakaṭaka lay elsewhere, on an island across the ocean, leading to conjectures that it may even have been the great stūpa of Barabuḍur.[9] We should note here a legend, recorded by Klong rdol bla ama, that attributes the founding of the stūpa of Dhānyakaṭaka to a shower of rice in the time of the Buddha Kanakamuni.[10] As we shall see later, this takes on some significance in light of the visit by the sādhaka in the Kalāpāvatāra to the stūpa of the Buddha Kanakamuni on an ocean island near the beginning of his journey to Kalāpa - perhaps the island connected with the alternate version of Dhānyakaṭaka.

Nearly all the texts agree that King Sucandra of Śambhala, accompanied by a retinue of ninety-six vassal princes, flew magically from Śambhala to Dhānyakaṭaka to request teachings from the Buddha, the Kālacakra in particular. A few sources, such as the 'Grel chung pad ma can of Dus zhabs pa, maintain that the Buddha went to Śambhala and preached the Kālacakra there.[11] However, the Kālacakratantrarāja and Vimalaprabhā give no evidence to support this premise, and in any case, it has not become part of the tradition in Tibet. The Buddha was supposed to have assumed the form of the Kālacakra deity himself when he gave the teaching to Sucandra and his retinue of princes, along with an assembly of gods, Bodhisattvas, and so forth.[12]

The sources all agree that Sucandra wrote down the teaching he received from the Buddha as the mūla or root tantra in twelve thousand verses in Śambhala. There he also built a three-dimensional Kālacakra mandala, which the Vimalaprabhā describes in great detail.[13] This mandala appears in later paintings that depict the kingdom itself in the form of an eight-petaled lotus blossom. It is the site, in the Vimalaprabhā and other texts, of sermons and initiations into the Kālacakra Tantra.[14]

Sucandra was the first of seven dharmarājas preserving the Kālacakra teachings in Śambhala. Each dharmarāja is regarded as an emanation of a particular Bodhisattva - for example, Sucandra is identified with Vajrapāṇi - and is supposed to have reigned for one hundred years. The names of these dharmarājas are quite consistent among the different

sources, both in early texts, such as the Vimalaprabhā, translated into Tibetan in the eleventh century, and in late texts, such as Klong rdol bla ma's, composed at the end of the eighteenth century.[15]

In all sources a line of twenty-five rigs ldan kings follows the initial line of seven dharmarājas. The Tibetan term rigs ldan suggests a translation of the Sanskrit term kulika, 'pertaining to family or class', but the Sanskrit version of the Kālacakratantrarāja uses the term Kalkin, referring to the future avatar of Viṣṇu. Like their predecessors, these kings are also regarded as emanations of various Bodhisattvas and are supposed to reign for one hundred years each. Yaśas, the first rigs ldan king, who initiates the line, is universally viewed as the emanation of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī.[16]

Sources from the Vimalaprabhā to the Śambhala'i lam yig and Klong rdol bla ma place particular importance on the story of an episode resulting in the initiation of the rigs ldan line. This story, which the Vimalaprabhā treats at great length, concerns the conversion by Yaśas of recalcitrant brahmarṣis to the Kālacakra.[17] In the version of the Vimalaprabhā, Yaśas calls together the sages to question them about discordant Vedic and Muslim practices in Śambhala, warning that these practices could lead to the eventual takeover of the kingdom by the mlecchas, who are clearly identified as Muslims - the text even speaks of "the mantra of the mleccha god Biṣimilala".[18] The brahmarṣis become so confused that they all fall stunned to the ground. Yaśas gives them the choice of following the Kālacakra and joining a single vajra class or leaving Śambhala. They choose to leave, following their leader Sūryaratha toward India in the south. After they have left, Yaśas has misgivings about their departure, fearing it will weaken people's faith in the Vajrayāna, and brings the sages back by magical means. They are so amazed that they ask for initiation into a revised and simplified version of the Kālacakra and Yaśas establishes a single vajra class in Śambhala - hence his new title, rigs ldan, meaning in Tibetan "Possessing class or family".[19]

Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes, in his guidebook to Śambhala, composed in 1775, repeats this story, but condenses it.[20] He omits reference to Vedic and Muslim practices in Śambhala and downplays the perils of foreign influences contaminating the kingdom in the future. Continuing this process of dissasociating the mlecchas from the Muslims in particular, contemporary lamas, such as Chopgye Trichen Rinpoche, identify the mlecchas as any materialistic barbarians who threaten the true religion of Buddhism.[21]

Yaśas' successor, the second rigs ldan, Puṇḍarīka, is supposed to have constructed another, smaller Kālacakra maṇḍala in Śambhala, and is credited with having composed the Vimalaprabhā itself. As his name indicates, he is regarded as an emanation of Avalokiteśvara.[22]

According to Stag tshang lo tsā, during the reign of the fourteenth rigs ldan, Zla ba'i 'od, the Kālacakra was brought back to India, where it flourished in Bengal and Kashmir before going up to Tibet in the eleventh century with the second propagation of Buddhism to that country. There the teaching branched into various lineages, the most notable being those of 'Bro and Rva.[23]

In the Kālacakratantrāja and subsequent texts, the mlecchas play a prominent and crucial role in the history and prophecy of Śambhala. The Kālacakratantrarāja presents a lineage of mleccha teachers that will culminate in Kṛnmatin, who will conquer the world and be defeated by Raudra Cakrin. This lineage includes Ārddha, Anogha, Varāhī, Mūṣa, Īśa, Śvetavastrin, and Madhumati.[24] The same list appears in one of the latest texts dealing with Śambhala, the Shel gyi me long of Thu'u bkwan Blo bzang chos kyi nyima, written in 1802.[25] Helmut Hoffman has identified these mleccha teachers as: Adam, Henoch, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Mani, and Muhammad, respectively.[26] The list includes important figures from Judaism, Christianity, and Manicheism as well as Islam.

The early texts, such as the Kālacakratantrāja and Vimalaprabhā, focus most of their attention on the rise of Islam under Muhammad in Mecca, which is referred to as 'Makha'.[27] According to later sources, such as Stag tshang lo tsā ba's commentary on the

Kālacakra, composed in the fifteenth century, and the Vaiḍūrya dkar po, dating from the seventeenth century, this took place during the reign of Rgya mtsho mam rgyal, the tenth rigs ldan of Śambhala.[28] The myth of Śambhala appeared in India in the tenth or eleventh century just after Muslims had destroyed Buddhism in much of Central Asia - the region that was probably the source of the Kālacakra Tantra and the site of the historical prototype of the mythical kingdom itself.[29] The attention paid to Muhammad and the rise of Islam in the Kālaçakratantrāja and Vimalaprabhā is, therefore, not surprising.

According to later sources, such as the Śambhala'i lam yig and Khamtrul Rinpoche, as time goes on, the mlecchas will conquer Jambudvīpa up to the River Sītā.[30] The earliest source, the Kālaçakratantrarāja, however, is vague on this point, saying only that Raudra Cakrin will come out of Kailāsa to defeat the mlecchas.[31] A number of oral versions of the prophecy that I collected from contemporary lamas, on the other hand, have the mlecchas go all the way into Śambhala, where they will finally provoke Raudra Cakrin to defeat them in the final battle before the golden age.[32] According to Khempo Tsondu and Khamtrul Rinpoche, the mleccha leader's queen, an emanation of either Tārā or Dpal ldan lha mo, will goad him into discovering and attempting to conquer Śambhala, thereby leading him to his destruction.[33]

When the mlecchas are nearing the peak of their power, Raudra Cakrin, the twenty-fifth rigs ldan will be born as an emanation of Mañjuśrī.[34] All sources portray him as a cakravartin king, and Klong rdol bla ma even adds that an iron wheel will fall from the sky to announce his birth.[35] Contemporary Tibetans also identify him as a future incarnation of the Panchen Lama.[36]

When the mlecchas come north to the River Sītā and threaten even Śambhala, Raudra Cakrin will enter 'the samādhi of the best of horses skilled in speech', according to the Vimalaprabhā.[37] In an apparent attempt to clarify the meaning of the name of this samādhi, the Śambhala'i lam yig calls it 'the samādhi of sending forth many excellent horses'.[38] Tibetan paintings of the final battle usually portray Raudra Cakrin riding on a

blue horse, which may be a representation of 'the best of horses'. From the power of this samādhi will come forth a divine army composed of millions of warriors, hundreds of thousands of enraged war elephants, stone horses with the power of wind, golden chariots, gods, and so forth - the details are already specified by the eleventh century in the Kālacakratantrāja.[39]

The Kālacakratantrarāja does not specify the exact location of the final battle against the mlecchas, but the Vimalaprabhā and most subsequent sources place it in the vicinity of the River Sītā, which Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes identifies as being in the region of Rum - Turkey or Persia.[40] Various Hindu deities, such as Viṣṇu and Śiva, will assist Raudra Cakrin in defeating the asuras on the side of the mlecchas. Raudra Cakrin himself will stab the mleccha leader, Kṛnmatin, through the heart with a short spear, while his general, Hanūman, will kill the mleccha general, Aśvathāman.[41] The prayers expressing a wish for rebirth in Śambhala contain vivid passages describing this battle, mostly drawn from and faithful to the Kālacakratantrarāja.[42] Tibetan paintings of the kingdom of Śambhala usually have a scene of the battle at the bottom.[43] The more recent thang kas, dating from the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth, portray the soldiers of both sides equipped with rifles.[44]

The Kālacakratantrarāja presents a description of the ensuing golden age in the context of the four yugas or periods of the decline of the dharma of Śākyamuni Buddha. The Kālacakratantrāja and later sources, such as Klong rdol blama, either describe the golden age as, or compare it to, the kṛta yuga, the age of perfection.[45] The golden age is also described in terms of the world itself becoming an earthly paradise in which crops will grow without sowing and teachers of the past, such as Nāgārjuna, will return to teach the dharma in an age of enlightenment.[46]

Before passing on, Raudra Cakrin will divide the world between his two sons, named Indra and Sureśa.[47] A line of nine kings will follow them with the names of Kāśyapa and the first eight avatars of Viṣṇu, in proper order, up through Kṛṣṇa. A partial

listing of these names appears in the Kālacakratantrarāja; a full list appears in Klong rdol bla ma and is explicitly compared by him to the ten avatars of Viṣṇu.[48]

The sources remain vague on the question of the length and end of the golden age. The Kālacakratantrarāja predicts a gradual decline of human lifespan from 1800 years during the reigns of Raudra Cakrin's successors, but gives no definite end to the golden age.[49] Nor does it mention the coming of Maitreya Buddha in the future. That omission might seem surprising in view of the importance of the prophecy of Maitreya in the Buddhist world, including Tibet, but it is in keeping with the general tendency in the Tantras to ignore him or else to downplay his signficance.[50] None of the later texts in Tibet have much to say about Maitreya either, and contemporary lamas are left in some confusion as to how to reconcile the two messianic prophecies.[51]

The theme of the history and prophecy of Śambhala appears to have undergone little development in Tibet from the time of its introduction there in the eleventh century. With a few minor variations noted above, it remains quite stable from the earliest to the latest written sources. Some changes occur in contemporary oral sources, but even they retain the general configuration introduced from India. The theme appears to have completed its overall development in India - a development that made a lasting impression in Tibet, fixing the theme in the form it had at the time of its introduction in the eleventh century.

2. Earthly Paradise

Unlike the messianic history and prophecy, the theme of the earthly paradise has a number of features that show development in Tibet. In all sources consulted Śambhala lies to the north, but the earliest texts, such as the Kālacakratantrarāja and Vimalaprabhā, do not clearly specify how far north, nor do they emphasize its northern location, as do later, indigenous Tibetan texts. Over time, in Tibet itself, Śambhala acquired the epithet of 'Byang phyog Śambhala' or 'Northern Śambhala'. Later sources, such as the Śambhala'i

lam yig and Klong rdol bla ma, both dating from the end of the eighteenth century, locate the kingdom in the far north - in either the northernmost or second to northernmost of six divisions of Jambudvīpa.[52] In any case, the sources generally agree that Śambhala lies north of the River Sītā.

Both early and late texts, ranging from the eleventh century - or earlier - up to the twentieth century, place Śambhala in the vicinity of Kailāsa, which is, however, presented differently in different sources. In the Kālacakratantrarāja and Śambhala'i lam yig, for example, Śambhala lies in Kailāsa, which appears as a region or division of Jambudvīpa.[53] The Kalāpāvatāra, on the other hand, clearly identifies Kailāsa as a mountain, rather than a region, and places it in Śambhala - or the region of Kalāpa.[54] In the sixteenth century Rig pa 'dzin pa'i pho nya, Kailāsa lies in the vicinity of Śambhala, far to the north of Gangs Ti se, the mountain in western Tibet with which it is usually identified.[55]

Beginning in the thirteenth century, nearly all sources attribute to Śambhala the distinctive form of an eight-petaled lotus blossom surrounded by two mālās of snow mountains. However, no mention of this shape appears in earlier texts from the Kālacakratantrarāja and Vimalaprabhā up through the works of Bu ston. Nor do we find any reference to an eight-petaled lotus blossom form in the Kalāpāvatāra, which simply describes the kingdom as being round in shape. The first mention of this form appears in the thirteenth century guidebook by Man lung pa, who was a contemporary of Bu ston.[56]

The shape of an eight-petaled lotus blossom surrounded by snow mountains probably derives from a rearrangment of certain crucial clauses of the Kālacakratantrāja that took place through scribal error when it was canonized. The following passage from the Peking edition of the Tibetan Canon certainly suggests that Śambhala has such a form:

> In the muni (i.e. the seventh)[57] ring of earth in between the water treasures of beer and salt, the place of karma is situated. In 300,000 yojanas, the Master of Men

> will circle by stages through the divisions of the sun(i.e. twelve portions). In one division there are 25,000 yojanas and in the right half is the place of excellent sages well-known as Śambhala, the place of more than ten millions towns. On all sides of [that] which has petals of wealth (i.e. eight petals), it is completely surrounded by excellent snow mountains, and in the middle of it is Kailāsa. In ground, the portion of Kailāsa is one third of all that is together with the snow mountains. Moreover, each petal on the outside is ornamented with sun (i.e. twelve) lands and divisions.[58]

Here Śambhala clearly appears in a form composed of eight petals surrounded by snow mountains. The passage also places Kailāsa in the center, occupying a portion one third the diameter of the kingdom - at least the way later Tibetan texts have taken it. In addition, each petal is divided into twelve lands and divisions, corresponding to later Tibetan descriptions of the kingdom as having twelve principalities in each petal-like region.[59]

In Bu ston's version of the Kālacakratantrarāja, we find the same passage, with clauses arranged in a different order yielding a very different meaning (his interpolated notes are enclosed in parentheses):

> In the muni (i. e. the seventh) ring of earth (the greater Jambudvīpa) in between (the two) water treasures of (the ocean of) beer and (the seventh outer (?) ocean of) salt, the place of karma is situated (and with reference to the measurement of its external circumference) in 300,000 yojanas, the Master of Men (the Bhāgavan Kālacakra) will circle in stages through the divisions of the sun (that is, the twelve continents, according to the circling of the sun through the zodiacal signs). In one division (a continent) there are 25,000 yojanas (the measurement of the circumference obtained by 1/12 of 300,000), and (moreover, each continent) has petals of wealth (that is, the eight portions of the cardinal and intermediate points).

In the middle of that (the collection of eight petals of the lesser Jambudvīpa) is Kailāsa and (that, moreover,) is surrounded in all directions by excellent snow mountains. In area, the portion of Kailāsa together with snow mountains, as for that, it is one third (of 25,000 yojanas), and outside it, each petal (of the collection of eight), moreover, is ornamented with sun lands (that is, twelve lands) and divisions (containing inhabited places).[60] As for (its) right half (to the north of the River Sītā), that is the place of excellent sages (holy beings such as rigs ldans, the country which is) well-known as Śambhala, and as for households (in it), there are more than 10 million ones [there].[61]

In Bu ston's version, reinforced by his interpolated notes, the eight petals clearly refer to the eight directional portions of the lesser Jambudvīpa, not to regions of Śambhala, while the snow mountains surround Kailāsa, rather than the kingdom itself. Moreover, Kailāsa occupies the center of the lesser Jambudvīpa, while Śambhala lies inside the region of Kailāsa, rather than vice versa, as in the reading of the Peking version. In addition, Bu ston regards the twelve lands and divisions as referring to the subdivisions of the directional portions of the lesser Jambudvīpa. Bu ston's interpolated notes give no indication that he ever regarded Śambhala as having the shape of an eight-petaled lotus blossom surrounded by snow mountains.

Bu ston's version of the Kālacakratantrāja probably represents the original, or earlier, reading of the text. The Peking Canon, in its finished state, was compiled well after the time of Bu ston - it includes, for example, the Kalāpāvatāra, a work that was translated into Tibetan around the beginning of the seventeenth century. The xylographs we have of Bu ston's version of the Kālacakratantrāja do come from blocks carved in the seventeenth century or later,[62] and the Peking version of the text could, of course, come from a period much earlier than the date of its printing. However, the Sanskrit text of the Kālacakratantrāja, which is based on a palm leaf manuscript dated 1446, supports Bu

ston's reading, following his order of phrasing.[63] In addition, dala, the Sanskrit term translated as 'dab ma', with the exclusive meaning of 'petal' in Tibetan, also means 'piece or portion' in Sanskrit, suggesting that the original passage may have had nothing to do with the idea of petals of a lotus blossom: it may have simply been referring to the eight portions of our world, the southern continent of the lesser Jambudvīpa. The Peking edition of the Kālacakratantrāja could still predate the Sanskrit version we have at hand, but the weight of evidence argues against it and for the conclusion that Bu ston's reading represents the original, or at least the older, version of the text.

We can therefore conclude that a rearrangement of the original passage in the Kālacakratantrarāja - in all likelihood a mistaken reading motivated by considerations of symbolism that later chapters will explore - led to the following transformations of the form of Śambhala: the eight portions of Jambudvīpa became eight petal-like regions of the kingdom and the snow mountains surrounding Kailāsa became the mālā of snow mountains surrounding Śambhala. In addition, the twelve continents of the greater Jambudvīpa system probably became the twelve principalities in each petal of Śambhala. The end result was a transformation of the kingdom into the form of an eight-petaled lotus blossom, clearly specified in later texts, beginning with Man lung pa's guidebook composed in the thirteenth century. It is interesting to note here that a conception of Jambudvīpa as a mandala of eight directional portions has been transformed into a conception of the kingdom itself as a mandala of eight petal-like regions surrounding a central region - a point that will prove of significance when we turn to examining parallels of space and time and the role of symbolism in the development of the myth of Śambhala.

Except in the Kalāpāvatāra, Śambhala is described as a large kingdom in all sources, from the earliest to the latest. The Vimalaprabhā repeatedly refers to the kingdom as "the ninety-six myriad thousand (960 million) towns of Śambhala".[64] Later texts divide these ninety-six myriad thousand towns into ninety-six principalities occupying the eight petal-like regions of the kingdom - with twelve in each petal.[65] As noted above, the

Kalāpāvatāra does not stress the great size of Śambhala nor does it divide the kingdom into ninety-six myriad thousand towns or ninety-six principalities. It does, however, mention ninety-six kingdoms of northern Jambudvīpa on the way to Kalāpa.[66]

There are two likely sources in Buddhist mythology for the ninety-six myriad thousand towns and ninety-six principalities of Śambhala. The figure of ninety-six myriad thousand may derive from the prophecy of ninety-six myriad thousands who will receive arhatship at the time of the coming of Maitreya - a prophecy that appears in the Khotanese Book of Zambasta.[67] Its association with Khotan, a possible historical prototype for Śambhala,[68] and its messianic nature would make this prophecy a good candidate for having influenced the myth of Śambhala, inspiring the idea of ninety-six myriad thousand towns of a kingdom associated with a future enlightenment similar to that prophecied for the ninety-six myriad thousands in the Book of Zambasta. The other likely source appears in the Gandavyūha Sūtra, where the sage Sarvagāmin converts the followers of ninety-six schools by making them give up their heretical views.[69] This story could well have served as a model for the story of Yaśas's conversion of the sages with heretical views in the Vimalaprabhā, in which the inhabitants of the ninety-six myriad thousand towns of Śambhala are unified into a single vajra family, just as the followers of the ninety-six schools are unified into a school of one view - that of Buddhism - in the Gandavyūha. Finally, to jump ahead a little, the ninety-six countries of northern Jambudvīpa in the Kalāpāvatāra may have given rise to the idea of ninety-six myriad thousand towns or ninety-six principalities of Śambhala, if that text predates the Vimalaprabhā - a likely possibility.[70]

In both early and late sources, ranging from the Kālacakratantrāja to contemporary oral traditions, Śambhala appears as a wealthy and powerful kingdom. Later authors, such as Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes and Klong rdol bla ma, lay particular stress on the great wealth possessed by both the king and his subjects - according to the latter, the poorest inhabitants of Śambhala possess nearly one hundred bins full of jewels.[71] The great

power of the kingdom is made obvious in the prophecy of the defeat of the mlecchas and the establishment of the rule of Śambhala throughout the world - a prophecy found in all sources except the Kalāpāvatāra.

Descriptions of the kingdom, particularly in later texts, tend to focus on Kalāpa, the palace and capital city of the king. Klong rdol bla ma and Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes, for example, describe it in elaborate detail, down to such features as the type of skylights placed in the ceilings and the kinds of jewels used in the construction of the throne.[72] Khamtrul Rinpoche begins his description of the palace saying that is "larger than that of Indra".[73] Indeed, the Kalāpāvatāra focuses much more attention on Kalāpa than it does on Śambhala, which it only mentions by name three times - two of those in the later verse additions to the text.[74] However, in comparison with other sources, which describe it primarily as a palace, the Kalāpāvatāra treats Kalāpa more as a city, generally referring to it as 'grọn kyẹr Kalāpa' or 'the city of Kalāpa'.

The texts, both early and late, also focus a great deal of attention on the kings who reside in the palace of Kalāpa. They either refer to them directly as cakravartins or else they describe them in terms befitting a wheel-turning king.[75] As noted above, Klong rdol bla ma even has an iron wheel fall from the sky as a sign announcing the birth of Raudra Cakrin. In the role of cakravartins, the kings of Śambhala also appear as warriors and guardians of wealth and religious teachings. In addition, the texts, from the earliest to the lastest, portray the kings as Bodhisattvas, or emanations of Bodhisattvas - the three most important Bodhisattvas being Vajrapāṇi, Avalokiteśvara, and Mañjuśrī.[76] This is of importance since these three form a triumvirate in Buddhist art embodying the power, compassion, and wisdom of a Buddha. The Kalāpāvatāra, in fact, puts greater emphasis on the role of the kings as Bodhisattva teachers than it does on their role as cakravartins.

All the texts stress the function of Śambhala as a sanctuary of Buddhist teachings and teachers - the latter category including resident sages as well as Bodhisattva kings. Although they list a wide variety of teachings from the sūtras and tantras, most of the texts

place particular emphasis on the Kālacakra Tantra and its commentaries as the most important of the teachings preserved in Śambhala. Accounts of the history of the kingdom focus a great deal of attention on the root tantra received and written down by Sucandra and on the commentaries and condensations composed by him and certain of his successors. In addition, the texts dwell at great length on detailed descriptions of the Kālacakra maṇḍalas constructed in the kingdom by Sucandra and Puṇḍarīka and the Kālacakra initiations conducted at these maṇḍalas by the kings of Śambhala.[77]

The Kalāpāvatāra is the only source that contains no clear reference to the Kālacakra in Śambhala. It is also the text with by far the longest list of teachings preserved in the kingdom. The list includes a number of tantras, but mostly lower ones of the caryā, kriyā, and yoga classes: it mentions very few of the highest class, the anuttarayoga, to which the Kālacakra belongs.[78] In addition, the anuttarayoga tantras mentioned, such as the Hevajra and Guhyasamāja, are among the earliest of this class, whereas the Kālacakra is perhaps the latest.[79]

Śambhala develops the nature of an earthly paradise over time in Tibet. The earlier texts, up through Bu ston in the thirteenth century, do not emphasize the paradaisical qualities of the kingdom; rather they present it as a large country susceptible to the corrupting influences of the outside world. In the Vimalaprabhā, for example, Yaśas criticizes the discordant Vedic practices existing in Śambhala and warns of of the possibility of future degeneration and conquest by mlecchas if things continue to go as they have.[80]

Texts after Bu ston and Man lung pa, especially the smon lam or wishing prayers which have enjoyed great popularity among the Tibetan people, present Śambhala as a paradise of wealth and happiness, adorned with beautiful lakes and parks, such as the 'Lakes of Mind' and the grove of Malaya. The texts, written for the most part by lamas, are careful, however, to point out the spiritual as well as the worldly aspects of the kingdom as an earthly paradise.[81] Lay people, on the other hand, have tended to regard

Śambhala primarily as a place of sensual delights, an earthly equivalent of the heavens of the devas.[82]

Interestingly enough, Śambhala, or the land of Kalāpa, also has a strong paradaisical nature in the Kalāpāvatāra, which, even though it may have been composed at an early date in India, only reached Tibet at a fairly late date in the seventeenth century.[83] Perhaps its description of Śambhala as an earthly paradise made the text of particular interest for translation into Tibetan at that time, given the view of the kingdom that had developed by then in Tibet.

As it acquires the characteristics of an earthly paradise in later sources after the thirteenth century, Śambhala also takes on the attributes of a buddhakṣetra or Pure Land. In these sources the kingdom is regarded as the field or realm of the Ādibuddha, embodied in the form of the Kālacakra deity or the king himself, and described as a paradise with conditions much like those pertaining in Sukhāvatī - wealth and ease, freedom from sickness and suffering, and the best possible environment and teachings for attaining enlightenment.[84] Contemporary lamas, in fact, even refer to Śambhala as a zhing khams, the Tibetan term for a Buddha field or Pure Land, saying it is the only one existing in this world.[85]

The nature of Śambhala as a Pure Land and its association with mountains and Avalokiteśvara suggest the influence of the Western Paradise of Sukhāvatī and the mountain sanctuary of the Potala. At the very least the prevalence and popularity of Sukhāvatī would have provided a background influence on the development of Śambhala as an earthly paradise, especially considering the important role of Avalokiteśvara in both paradises. The reference in the Kalāpāvatāra to the blossoming of lotuses as a sign of the birth of a king may even reflect the direct influence of older references to the manner of birth in Sukhāvatī - from a lotus rather than a human womb.[86] The close association of Avalokiteśvara with Śambhala may have also brought to bear on the myth ideas associated with that Bodhisattva's residence on Mount Potala in the south, also reached by a mythic

journey described in a guidebook found in the Tibetan Canon.[87] The conception of the city of the cakravartin associated with Avalokiteśvara and his residence on Mount Potala may have been transferred to the city of Kalāpa, especially in the Kalāpāvatāra, where Avalokiteśvara plays a particularly important role.[88] Although the descriptions of the Potala are quite different from those of Kalāpa and Śambhala, the underlying conceptions of the two as earthly paradises in the form of mountain sanctuaries of teachings and teachers are quite similar.

Another earthly paradise of particular importance in Vajrayāna Buddhism may have also contributed to Tibetan conceptions of Śambhala - Uḍḍiyāna, the land of the ḍākinīs associated with the exploits and teachings of Padma Sambhava. Tucci points out that both countries were places of mystic revelations that were transformed into earthly paradises or, as he puts it, 'fairylands'.[89] He also argues that "the yellow sect composed its guides to Śambhala, viz., to the Kālacakra-paradise which had, in the meantime, become a supreme ideal for most of its followers, in order to possess the counterpart of the holy Orgyan of the rival schools."[90] Although conceptions of Śambhala as an earthly paradise may have developed in response to Rnying ma and Bka rgyud preoccupations with Uḍḍiyāna, there is no evidence of any direct influence of one on the other. Padma Sambhava plays no role in the myth of Śambhala and references to ḍākinīs are entirely lacking in descriptions of the kingdom itself, although vajraḍākinīs do play a part in the later guidebooks describing the journey there. Tibetan authors have situated the journey to Śambhala in the context of pilgrimages to five great places of pilgrimage, one of which is Uḍḍiyāna, but it lies in the western direction whereas Śambhala is a distinct site lying to the north.[91]

The theme of the earthly paradise is clearly not as stable as that of the messianic history and prophecy. Three developments of this theme following its introduction into Tibet in the eleventh century stand out as particularly significant. First, over time, Śambhala moves farther to the north and the sources increasingly emphasize its northern location. Second, the kingdom acquires the stylized form of an eight-petaled lotus

blossom surrounded by rings of snow mountains. In this form we can recognize the basic configuration of a mandala - most standard mandalas being expansions of an eight-petaled lotus blossom at their centers. Third, Śambhala takes on the characteristics of an earthly paradise and develops into a Pure Land. Even though it assumes the nature of a Pure Land, Śambhala remains in this world - unlike most other Pure Lands, such as Sukhāvatī. However, it does become more and more remote and inaccessible - supernatural powers become a necessity for reaching it, as Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes emphasizes in his Śambhala'i lam yig.[92] These developments of the theme of the earthly paradise are of particular importance for the development of the mythic journey to Śambhala.

3. Mythic Journey

The guidebooks and accounts of journeys to Śambhala at our disposal range in date from the thirteenth to the twentieth centuries.[93] Since the Kalāpāvatāra was translated into Tibetan in the seventeenth century and was used by Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes as the basis for his eighteenth century guidebook to Śambhala, the first part of this section will treat it as a late text and use it as a means of gauging the later development of the theme of the mythic journey in Tibet, despite the fact that the text itself was composed in India, probably at a much earlier date.

The frame for the journey plays an important role in the several of the later guidebooks to Śambhala, most notably in the Kalāpāvatāra and Rig pa dzin pa'i pho nya, which have long and detailed frames introducing their journeys. The former begins with a description of an assembly to hear the teachings of Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara. Ekajaṭī asks where the practice of Buddhist teachings will be possible in future degenerate times and requests advice on how to get there. At the command of Avalokiteśvara, Ārya Amoghāṅkuśa, himself a manifestation of Avalokiteśvara, proceeds to give the assembly the itinerary for the journey to Kalāpa.[94] The frame in the Rig pa 'dzin pa'i pho nya

consists of a long lamentation on the degenerate conditions of Tibet, prompting the poet to send a message to his father in Śambhala, asking for guidance and help. He visualizes a messenger and gives him detailed instructions on how to go to Śambhala.[95] We also find a frame in Garje Khamtrul's dream of going to Śambhala. He relates how after a long period of meditation in retreat, he slips into a dream-like state in which the Bodhisattva Tārā appears and tells him that he must come with her because his lama is calling him. An interchange ensues in which he questions her identity. When he finally realizes she is indeed Tārā, she swallows him, and he goes on a guided tour of her cakras before emerging from her vagina and embarking on the actual journey to Śambhala.[96]

These frames provide the particular context in each source for the journey to Śambhala, a point of particular importance for establishing the role of symbolism in the development of the theme of the mythic journey. In the Kalāpāvatāra the frame establishes the motive for going to Kalāpa - to seek teachings and a place to practice them when that will no longer be possible in India.[97] In the Rig pa 'dzin pa'i pho nya the frame sets up a contrast between the degenerate conditions already pertaining in Tibet and the liberating conditions to be found in Śambhala, thereby implicitly equating the journey there with the path leading to liberation.[98] The frame of Garje Khamtrul's dream specifically puts the journey into the context of responding to the call of his lama, who, as he discovers later, has teachings and prophecies to give him in Śambhala.[99]

In the early guidebooks, such as that of Man lung pa and the accounts of the Indian pandits, all dating from the thirteenth century, the frame plays either a lesser or else non-existent role. The frames found in these texts are much shorter than the ones above. We find virtually no frame in Man lung pa, other than an intent to describe journeys to the four quarters. In the accounts of the pandits, the frames are short, but they do establish the purpose of the journeys as that of obtaining powerful teachings that are not available in India. The accounts make no mention of degenerate conditions in India nor of the need to

practice in Śambhala. They do say, however, that the teachings and commentaries needed to attain enlightenment in one lifetime are to be found in the kingdom.

The journey to Śambhala begins from different places in different texts. The earlier sources do not specify the exact starting point. Man lung pa's journey begins from some unspecified place, probably in Tibet, but possibly in India, since he mentions the kingdom of King Khu khom near the beginning, which closely resembles Kho bom, an early Tibetan name for the Kathmandu Valley.[100] The pandits' journeys definitely start in India, but from exactly where is not specified.

The later texts, after the thirteenth century, are much more specific about the starting point of the journey to Śambhala. The journey in the Rig pa 'dzin pa'i pho nya begins, appropriately enough, from the poet's home in Rin spungs in Central Tibet.[101] In the Kalāpāvatāra and Śambhala'i lam yig, on the other hand, the journey proper starts at Bodhgaya, from the diamond seat of enlightenment of all Buddhas, thereby reinforcing the spiritual purpose and objective of the journey.[102] Finally, Garje Khamtrul's visionary journey to Śambhala begins from a peak in eastern Tibet where he stopped for the night on his way home after a meditation retreat.[103]

The journey in all sources goes north, a direction of particular spiritual significance, as we shall see in chapter 5. Several of the later texts include a western divergence at the beginning. The Kalāpāvatāra and Śambhala'i lam yig begin their journeys with a voyage to an island lying in the western ocean, apparently somewhere in the Arabian Sea.[104] The Rig pa 'dzin pa'i pho nya has the poet's visualized messenger travel west through pilgrimage sites in Tibet to Kashmir, before heading north toward Śambhala.[105] A number of texts, which are not guidebooks, place Śambhala in the northwest part of Jambudvīpa, implying a northwest journey to reach the kingdom.[106]

All sources present a long journey to Śambhala, but with variations in actual length. The shortest version appears in Man lung pa's guidebook, where his actual description of the way makes the journey sound like a standard caravan journey through Central

Asia.[107] However, in a later passage, he adds that it may take up to three years to reach Śambhala from western Tibet.[108] The accounts of the pandits' journeys, on the other hand, emphasize the great distance to be covered - in one version the distance is too great for Cilupa to succeed in traversing.[109] In later texts, such as the Śambhala'i lam yig, the journey is very long, but possible for one endowed with supernatural powers. In his dream Garje Khamtrul flies relatively quickly to Śambhala, but his flight takes him over a great number of countries, including ones of a mythical nature filled with jewels and the gold of the Jambu tree.[110]

The most striking development in the later texts is not so much the length of the journey per se, but the increased length of the descriptions of it. The Rig pa 'dzin pa'i pho nya, Kalāpāvatāra, and Śambhala'i lam yig are all orders of magnitude longer than Man lung pa's guidebook or any of the accounts of the pandits. This increased length of description goes along, as we shall see, with an increasing role of symbolism in the texts, both implicit and explicit.

In and of itself, the length of the journey contributes greatly to its difficulty. As Śambhala moves farther north, becoming more distant and remote, the journey to it becomes increasingly difficult. In addition, obstacles of both a physical and supernatural type proliferate, adding further to the difficulties involved in reaching the kingdom.

The guidebook by Man lung pa describes no particular problems on the way to Śambhala. It presents a relatively straightforward journey such as merchants might take in caravans. In all other texts, including the accounts of the pandits, the journey is much longer and more difficult - as noted above, one account of Cilupa's journey makes it out to be impossible. However, the accounts of the pandits' journeys do not present many obstacles, nor do they describe any of them in detail. The later guidebooks, on the other hand, present numerous mountains, deserts, river, and other physical barriers to tax the physical endurance of the traveller. In the Kalāpāvatāra, for example, the sādhaka must take twenty-one days to cross a desert cross totally devoid of water, while in a similar

desert crossing in the Rig pa 'dzin pa'i pho nya the messenger must endure a sun so hot that its rays threaten to melt him like silver in a furnace.[111] They, and the Śambhala'i lam yig, describe these and other obstacles at great length, dwelling on the difficulties in overcoming them.

They also add numerous supernatural features to the physical obstacles of the journey. The Kalāpāvatāra, for example, abounds with mountains of incredible height inhabited by demons, gods, and sages, as well as rivers filled with hell beings and magical fish and guarded by rākṣasīs. It also has supernatural features of a more benevolent nature, such as the magic fruit that enables the sādhaka to cross a desolate plateau and the vajra ḍākinīs who fly him over the snow mountains to Śambhala. Similar features abound in the Rig pa 'dzin pa'i pho nya.[112] With one notable exception, such supernatural features are totally lacking, however, in Man lung pa's journey to the kingdom. In that exception the traveller comes across a land of hermaphrodites on the edge of the snow mountains of Śambhala, and, significantly, this is the only major feature that Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes adopts from Man lung pa's guidebook.[113] Supernatural features are also lacking in the accounts of pandits' journeys, although the necessity for supernatural assistance is not.

Most of the texts indicate, either explicitly or implicitly, the need for supernatural powers and assistance to overcome the obstacles on the way to Śambhala. Man lung pa's text is the only guidebook that does not specify the necessity for such powers or assistance in order to reach the kingdom. The account of Cilupa's journey in which he receives teachings partway to the kingdom from Yaśas implies that he would have needed supernatural aid to go all the way to Śambhala. Kālacakrapada, the other major pandit to go to Śambhala, actually receives instruction and magical assistance from Tārā and the rigs ldan king so that he can proceed to the kingdom itself.[114] Later texts such as the Kalāpāvatāra and the Śambhala'i lam yig explicitly state the need for supernatural powers and assistance right at the beginning of their descriptions of the journey to Śambhala. In

the case of these two texts, the sādhaka performs elaborate rituals to invoke the aid of particular demons and deities, whereas in the Rig pa'i dzin pa'i pho nya the messenger obtains power and help through more advanced yogic practices of an inner nature, involving very little performance of external ritual.[115] Unlike the accounts of the pandits, all these later texts require the repeated use of supernatural abilities and assistance at a number of junctures on the journey to Śambhala.

As the need for supernatural powers and assistance emerges, the journey to Śambhala takes on an increasingly spiritual nature. The traveller in Man lung pa's guidebook neither develops spiritual powers nor goes to the kingdom for spiritual purposes. The journey is simply presented as a description of how to go physically to Śambhala, if one should so desire in the future. Once the traveller reaches the kingdom, he does find spiritual doctrines and practices there, but they have nothing to do with the journey itself. In the accounts of the pandits, they do go to Śambhala for the explicit purpose of obtaining and bringing back to India the Kālacakra teachings needed to attain enlightenment. Due in part to their limitations of length, however, these accounts show little spiritual development taking place in the pandits as they journey to Śambhala.

Spiritual development in the course of going to Śambhala really appears for the first time in the Rig pa 'dzin pa'i pho nya, where, for example, the messenger acquires a vajra body on the way to the kingdom.[116] He also develops such spiritual qualities as compassion and friendliness as he proceeds toward his destination.[117] In the Kalāpāvatāra and Śambhala'i lam yig the spiritual nature of the mythic journey as such reaches its fullest expression.[118] The texts make very explicit that the sādhaka is going to Śambhala for the sake of all beings, thereby making the journey itself an enactment of his bodhisattva vow to attain enlightenment for the sake of others. Whenever the sādhaka requests supernatural assistance, particularly from demonic figures, he states that he wishes to go to Kalāpa for the happiness and benefit of beings. In addition, in the course of the journey, he acquires various spiritual attainments needed to attain the ultimate goal

of complete enlightenment. For example, in the valley of medicinal herbs at the edge of Śambhala, he performs a ritual to Ekajaṭī that gives him the power to overcome all hindrances and know all things.[119]

Except for the Kalāpāvatāra and Śambhala'i lam yig, the texts dealing with the journey to Śambhala have very few specific physical features in common. However, they do share types of features, such as mountains and rivers. For purposes of comparison and analysis of the development of the journey to Śambhala, we will, therefore, examine these categories, rather than the particular features making them up.

Mountains appear in all sources having to do with the journey to Śambhala. The later texts expand the number of mountains and tend to highlight the snow mountains surrounding the kingdom itself. The Rig pa 'dzin pa'i pho nya compares the latter to demons threatening to block the messenger's path and destroy his hopes.[120] The Kalāpāvatāra describes another mountain, Ketara, as terrifying in appearance.[121]

Deserts play a particularly important role in the later texts. Neither Man lung pa's guidebook nor the accounts of the pandits describe the crossing of deserts on the way to Śambhala. Deserts play a much more prominent role as obstacles in the Rig pa 'dzin pa'i pho nya and the Kalāpāvatāra, where they become occasions for calling forth supernatural powers and assistance.[122]

Forests appear in all texts except for the accounts of pandits' journeys. They take the form of both peaceful groves and terrifying obstacles filled with ferocious beasts - the Rig pa 'dzin pa'i pho nya has a particularly vivid and gory description of killer beasts in one such forest.[123] Whereas Man lung pa only mentions one forest on the way to Śambhala, the later guidebooks have numerous forests the traveller must traverse to reach the kingdom, including forests of bliss and happiness at the end of the journey. Since few forests are found in Central Asia, their presence in these later texts reflects the influence of literary and mythological sources on the development of the mythic journey to Śambhala.

Rivers must be crossed on the way to Śambhala in all texts except for the accounts of pandits journeys. One river in particular, the River Sītā, plays a prominant role in most of the guidebooks and is an important reference point for locating Śambhala in other texts, such as the Vimalaprabhā.[124] In the Vimalaprabhā and Man lung pa's guidebook it has the character of a large, relatively ordinary, river, but in later guidebooks it takes on magical qualities that make it a formidable obstacle: the Śambhala'i lam yig adds to the Kalāpāvatāra's description of it as supernaturally cold the additional characteristic that anyone who touches it turns to stone.[125] According to the Abhidharma, the Sītā is one of four major rivers flowing from Lake Mānasarovara.[126] Man lung pa's description of its location and direction of flow, from west to east, would make it correspond to the Tarim River.[127] Western scholars have also tried to identify it with the Amu Darya and Syr Darya Rivers of Soviet Central Asia.[128] Emphasizing its mythical and supernatural nature, Btsan po no mon han, the author of the nineteenth century Tibetan geography of the world, claims that the Sītā of the Śambhala'i lam yig is not the Sītā usually referred to, but another river much farther to the north.[129] Whereas the other guidebooks mention only one major river on the way to Śambhala, the Kalāpāvatāra and Śambhala'i lam yig include a second river beyond the Sītā, the Satvalotana, which also possesses supernatural qualities.[130]

Oceans appear as important parts of the journey in a number of sources, including the Rig pa 'dzin pa'i pho nya, the Kalāpāvatāra, the Śambhala'i lam yig, and some of the pandits' accounts. In the latter three the ocean is associated with merchants and jewels, suggesting the influence of the legend of Aśoka, where Aśoka recovers a cargo of jewels stolen from merchants returning from the Island of Jewels, and the Avalokiteśvara Jātaka, where the Bodhisattva as a horse rescues merchants from an island of demonesses.[131] In fact, the Island of Jewels in the first legend may have inspired the island called "The Treasury of Jewels" visited by the sādhaka on his ocean journey in the Kalāpāvatāra.[132]

Countries of various kinds, both attractive and horrifying, must be traversed on the way to Śambhala. In the later texts, the Kalāpāvatāra and Śambhala'i lam yig in particular, the number of these countries increases dramatically. They also become increasingly mythical and countries which we can recognize, either geographically or from mythological sources, tend to move to the north. For example, we find the country of Bhoṭa - the standard Sanskrit name for Tibet - in the list of countries north of the River Sītā in the Kalāpāvatāra.[133]

The most likely sources in Buddhist mythlogy to have inspired the journey to Śambhala are the guidebooks to the Potala, a hidden sanctuary like Śambhala, but more widely known in the Buddhist world outside of Tibet.[134] As noted above, one of these guidebooks, the Potalakagamana-mārgapattrikā, is also found in Tibetan translation in the Bstan 'gyur section of the Tibetan Canon.[135] Given its importance and Indian origin, it may well have influenced the composition of the Kalāpāvatāra in India, especially considering the important role of Avalokiteśvara in both texts.

The influence, however, would have been a background one, since it has contributed few, if any, specific features to the guidebook to Kalāpa, although it shares with it the categories of features examined above. Tucci has used these categories to relate the guidebook to the Potala to the journey to Uttarakuru in the Rāmāyana, but, as we shall see, there is a much more direct link of specific features between the Rāmāyana and the Kalāpāvatāra.[136] In addition, the natures of their journeys differ in at least one crucial respect: whereas the guidebook to the Potala encourages the sādhaka to eschew the acquisition and use of magic powers, the Kalāpāvatāra makes them a necessity and a positive contribution toward the sādhaka's eventual enlightenment.[137] This would suggest that the Kalāpāvatāra was composed or developed in a much more tantric milieu than the Potalakagamanamārgapattrikā - one that encouraged the cultivation and use of siddhis as a means of quickly attaining enlightenment.[138] In addition, the latter is much

shorter in length and lacks the extensive frame of the former, setting out the purpose of the journey.

The question of the composition of the Kalāpāvatāra and its relation to the Kālacakra tradition is problematic. The colophon of the Tibetan translation of the text gives no indication of when the orginal Sanskirt version was composed in India. References to the Kalāpāvatāra in other texts provide no information that would help establish its author and date.[139] We will, therefore, have to rely on internal evidence and comparison with other Indian sources for dating the original composition of the text. As noted in the preceding chapter, the prose and verse sections indicate two stages of development of the Kalāpāvatāra, making the task of dating the text even more complicated.

The Kalāpāvatāra has little in common with the standard Kālacakra texts from India - the Kālacakratantrāja and the Vimalaprabhā. It completely omits the messianic history and prophecy that play such an important role in those texts. It has no reference to the Buddha's preaching of the Kālacakra at Dhānyakaṭaka, the line of dharmarājas and kalki kings of Śambhala, the advent of Raudra Cakrin, the battle with the mlecchas, nor the golden age to come. It speaks only of the degeneration of the Buddha dharma in the future and the consequent necessity to go to Kalāpa to obtain and practice the true teachings that will no longer be available nor possible to practice in India.[140]

In terms of descriptions of the kingdom itself, the Kalāpāvatāra lacks a number of major features characterizing Śambhala in the Kālacakratantrāja and Vimalaprabhā. In the first place, the name Śambhala hardly appears in the Kalāpāvatāra and may well have been added later - a striking omission.[141] Just as significantly, the Kalāpāvatāra makes no mention of the important Kālacakra mandalas built in Śambhala by its kings. Nor does it clearly refer to, much less emphasize, the existence of the Kālacakra teachings in Śambhala. The Kalāpāvatāra does not divide the kingdom into ninety-six myriad thousand towns, nor does it make out Śambhala to be very large. In addition, the text makes no mention of the kingdom having the shape of an eight-petaled lotus - a point that has more

significance for relating the Kalāpāvatāra to later texts composed in Tibet than it does for relating it to the Kālacakratantrāja and Vimalaprabhā, which also lack this feature.

Indeed, nowhere in the description of the kingdom or the journey to it do we find any evidence that the author of the Kalāpāvatāra was familiar with either the Kālacakratantrāja or the Vimalaprabhā - or even with the Kālacakra teaching itself. The text includes only two possible references to the tantra, and even those two are dubious.[142] The journey itself requires no use of any practices pertaining specifically to the Kālacakra. We can conclude, therefore, that the Kalāpāvatāra does not belong to the Kālacakra tradition as found in the standard texts extant in Sanskrit and Tibetan.

All this suggests one of two possibilities with respect to the dating of the Kalāpāvatāra. The first is that the Kalāpāvatāra was composed at a relatively late date - perhaps as late as the seventeenth century, just before Tāranātha translated it into Tibetan - in a tradition that knew nothing of the Kālacakra. The second possibility is that the Kalāpāvatāra predates the Kālacakra Tantra and may even have influenced the Kālacakratantrāja and Vimalaprabhā.

The first possibility - the one suggesting a late date for the composition of the Kalāpāvatāra after the introduction of the Kālacakra into Tibet - is unlikely for several reasons. First, the Kālacakra was widely disseminated in India after its introduction there in the tenth or eleventh century: we find references to its existence in Bengal, Nālandā, and Kashmir.[143] This would have made it unlikely that the author, or tradition, responsible for the composition of the Kalāpāvatāra would have been so unfamiliar with the Kālacakra as to include no clear references to it in the text. One might argue that the Kalāpāvatāra was composed after the Kālacakra had vanished in India, along with Buddhism in general, but this would imply that it was written in Nepal, where we know that copies of the Vimalaprabhā, and possibly the Kālacakratantrāja, were extant around the time the Kalāpāvatāra was translated into Tibetan in the seventeenth century from a Nepali manuscript.[144] This, again, would have made it unlikely that the author would not have

known about those texts, which refer so specifically to the subject of his work - Kalāpa and Śambhala.

There are, on the other hand, a number of arguments for the second possibility - that the composition of the Kalāpāvatāra predates the introduction of the Kālacakra into India in the tenth century. First, there is the lack of familiarity with the Kālacakra texts noted above, implying that the Kalāpāvatāra preceded them. This is reinforced by the tenuous, almost non-existent, association of Kalāpa with Śambhala in the Kalāpāvatāra, suggesting that the text was composed at an early stage of development of the myth when the two places were not yet firmly associated with each other- a stage earlier than that represented in the Kālacakratantrarāja, where the two are definitely linked together. Moreover, the association of Kalāpa with Śambhala in the Kalāpāvatāra occurs mainly in the verse sections, which represent a later addition to the text.

We also find evidence for the second possibility that is independent of the Kalāpāvatāra's lack of familiarity with the Kālacakra texts. The Kalāpāvatāra hardly mentions the mlecchas at all and certainly does not associate them with the Muslims, whom it leaves out altogether. Where we would most expect to find references to the mlecchas, in the section describing the degenerate conditions of the future, we find the tīrthikas mentioned instead as those whose teachings will deflect people from the true, Buddhist, path.[145] Most of the few references to the mlecchas that do appear in the text occur in the verse sections representing a later addition to the Kalāpāvatāra.[146] In any case, neither verse nor prose sections make any mention of Mecca or Muhammad. All this suggests that the composition of the Kalāpāvatāra, even in its later portions, preceded the Muslim conquest of Central Asia and probably even preceded the appearance of Islam in Mecca in the seventh century.

The kinds of texts and practices mentioned in the Kalāpāvatāra also provide evidence for an early date of composition. The extensive list of teachings kept in Kalāpa include very few tantras belonging to the later, anuttarayoga class. The lack of clear references to

the Kālacakra, perhaps the latest tantra of this class, has already been noted. The few anuttarayoga tantras mentioned in the Kalāpāvatāra are all early ones, such as the Hevajra and Guhyasamāja, and these occur only in the verse sections that represent a later development of the text.[147] Most of the teachings listed belong to the Mahāyāna sūtras or else to the lesser tantras. In addition, few, if any, of the practices prescribed in the journey to Kalāpa itself pertain to the completion stage of the anuttarayoga tantras: they do not involve the manipulation of prānas, nāḍīs, and bindu characteristic of that stage.[148] The practices enjoined on the sādhaka are all of the kriyā, caryā, and yoga classes of tantra. The predominance of early tantras and the lack of later ones, therefore, imply an early date for the composition of the Kalāpāvatāra, certainly one preceding that of the Kālacakratantrarāja and Vimalaprabhā.

Given the likelihood that the Kalāpāvatāra predates the Kālacakratantrāja and Vimalaprabhā, the next question to ask is whether it could have influenced them. There is considerable evidence for an answer in the affirmative: a number of features found in the Kālacakratantrāja and Vimalaprabhā could have been drawn or elaborated from simpler ones in the Kalāpāvatāra.

To begin with the most prominent feature in the Kalāpāvatāra, Kalāpa itself, it seems likely that this text provided the first association of the Hindu āśrama of that name with a palace and city - an association taken up and developed in the Kālacakratantrāja and Vimalaprabhā.[149] The relatively restrained description of Kalāpa in the former could also have led to the much more elaborate descriptions of it in the latter two texts.

It also seems likely that Kalāpa was first associated with Śambhala in the Kalāpāvatāra, particularly in the later verse sections where most of the references to the kingdom occur. This first, tentative association of the two places would have been developed and firmly established in the Kālacakratantrāja and Vimalaprabhā at a later date. As noted in chapter 2, the name Śambhala only appears three times in the entire Kalāpāvatāra, suggesting its inclusion as a later addition or afterthought. This preliminary

association of Śambhala and Kalāpa in the Kalāpāvatāra would have also provided the first association of the kingdom with a northern location - an association developed and made into an important feature of the myth in the later texts, particularly those composed in Tibet.[150]

Another important feature of the myth, Kailāsa, appears in conjunction with Kalāpa and Śambhala in the Kalāpāvatāra and in the Kālacakratantrāja and Vimalaprabhā. However, in the Kalāpāvatāra it takes the form of a mountain much closer in nature to its antecedent in Hindu mythology, whereas in the latter texts it assumes the very different nature of an entire region of Jambudvīpa.[151] This disparity between the two versions of Kailāsa suggests that an earlier version of Kailāsa in the Kalāpāvatāra has been elaborated into a later version in the Kālacakratantrāja and Vimalaprabhā.

As noted above, the rigs ldan kings of the Kālacakratantrāja and Vimalaprabhā do not appear in the Kalāpāvatāra. However, much of the idea for them, as well as descriptions of their nature, could have been drawn and elaborated from the description of the bodhisattva kings in the Kalāpāvatāra. Later Tibetan authors, such as Klong rdol bla ma, have done just that, combining the description of the signs proclaiming the birth of a king in the Kalāpāvatāra with descriptions of the rigs ldan kings in other sources, such as Mkhas grub rje.[152]

A very important feature of the history and prophecy of Śambhala in the Kālacakratantrāja and Vimalaprabhā, the stūpa of Dhānyakaṭaka, may have been drawn in part from the stūpa of Kanakamuni described near the beginning of the journey in the Kalāpāvatāra.[153] According to some sources, Dhānyakaṭaka lies on an island in the sea, like the stūpa of Kanakamuni on the way to Kalāpa.[154] In addition, both stūpas are associated with the Buddha Kanakamuni, not a commonly invoked Buddha. As noted earlier in this chapter, Dhānyakaṭaka owes its name to rice that fell in a heap there from the sky during the time of that Buddha.

Finally, there are some lesser features in the Kālaçakratantrāja and Vimalaprabhā that could have been elaborated from earlier versions in the Kalāpāvatāra. The brief reference to ninety-six countries of northern Jambudvīpa on the way to Kalāpa could have helped give rise to the ninety-six myriad thousand towns of Śambhala used so frequently as an epithet for that country in the Vimalaprabhā. The two Lakes of Mind described described as lying next to the park of Malaya close to Kalāpa in the Vimalaprabhā may owe their origin to the lakes of mind located in a forest of sandalwood near Kalāpa in the Kalāpāvatāra.[155]

On the basis of this evidence, we can conclude that, although translated into Tibetan at a very late date, the Kalāpāvatāra was probably composed quite early in India, before the appearance of the Kālacakra Tantra and possibly even before the founding of Islam in the seventh century. It seems very likely that the text influenced the primary texts of the Kālacakra Tantra, the Kālacakratantrāja and Vimalaprabhā. In particular, it probably provided the first association of KāKalāpa and Kailāsa with Śambhala, an association that developed into an important feature of the myth of Śambhala in the latter two texts, when the theme of the messianic history and prophecy came to the fore.

The developed theme of the mythic journey, in the form of the journey to Kalāpa in the Kalāpāvatāra, existed at an early date, but it was not incorporated into the Buddhist myth of Śambhala in India. We find no evidence of its influence in the Kālacakratantrāja and Vimalaprabhā. The theme, with all its symbolic connotations, was only incorporated into the myth at a much later date in Tibet, when interest turned toward finding the way to the earthly paradise embodied in Śambhala. At that point, with Tāranātha's translation of the Kalāpāvatāra, the developed theme of the mythic journey finally took its place in the established Buddhist myth of Śambhala.

The journey is clearly the least stable theme of the myth, showing great variation and development in Tibet. The earlier texts - Man lung pa's guidebook and the accounts of the pandits - have very little in common with each other or with the later guidebooks- the Rig

pa 'dzin pa'i pho nya, Kalāpāvatāra, and Śambhala'i lam yig. Man lung pa's guidebook shares only two features with other texts - the River Sītā and the land of the hermaprodites, which appears only in the Śambhala'i lam yig. Unlike the other sources, Man lung pa presents a very matter-of-fact journey with no magical or supernatural characteristics. Nor does his journey have a mythic nature, reflecting or embodying any ultimate view of reality. The pandits' accounts do have mythic aspects to them, but their descriptions of the journeys themselves are very brief and do not elaborate on these aspects.

The mythic nature of the journey really emerges with the composition of the Rig pa 'dzin pa'i pho nya and the Tibetan translation of the Kalāpāvatāra. The former does embody a deeper view of reality, but as an elaboration on a poetic conceit it lacks the aura of facticity that would make it fully mythic for Tibetans. The Kalāpāvatāra, on the other hand, possesses both qualities, making it the first full-fledged expression of the mythic journey to Śambhala in Tibet. Despite the fundamentally mythic nature of both texts, they have relatively few specific features in common, indicating that Ngag dbang 'jigs grags was not familiar with the Sanskrit version of the Kalāpāvatāra. He does not even refer specifically to the River Sītā: his messenger crosses a comparable river, but the name is not given - that is left to an interpolated note by a later commentator.[156] Finally, drawing on the Kalāpāvatāra, the Śambhala'i lam yig makes full use of the mythic aspects of the journey theme and brings it to the attention of a broad audience in Tibet, becoming the definitive work on the subject.

We can summarize the development of the journey theme in Tibet in the following way. Until the thirteenth century the theme remained largely undeveloped; there was little apparent Tibetan interest in the journey to Śambhala. In the thirteenth century interest in the journey first appeared with the composition of Man lung pa's guidebook. However, this text was not exclusively devoted to Śambhala: rather, it included the journey there as one of a number of journeys to the four quarters. In addition, the journey itself was treated as a straightforward venture with no mythical overtones. Man lung pa's text seems

to have been the best-known guidebook to Śambhala for a period of several centuries, perhaps up to the time of the Śambhala'i lam yig, since Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes devotes a sizeable passage of his guidebook to discrediting it, an effort he probably would not have made if Man lung pa's version were not still widely known in Tibet.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth century, with the composition of the Rig pa 'dzin pa'i pho nya and the translation of the Kalāpāvatāra, the mythic nature of the journey emerged and engaged the interest of Tibetans, in particular the literati and religious scholars. With the composition of the popular Śambhala'i lam yig by Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes, the most noted and powerful lama of his time, the theme of the mythic journey finally reached its maturity and became widely established in Tibet. It continues to have influence and attract interest among Tibetans today, as evinced by its role in Garje Khamtrul's dream of going to Śambhala to receive teachings and prophecies that have guided his life up to the present day.

4. Structural Parallels of Space and Time

The preceding examination of the three basic themes of the myth of Śambhala reveals an overall parallel of space and time between the theme of the mythic journey and that of the messianic history and prophecy. Just as the journey leads through space to the earthly paradise, so the history and prophecy of Śambhala lead through time to the golden age to come. The striking similarities between the descriptions of the earthly paradise and the golden age at the end of each make this parallel even more apparent, as do other, secondary parallels between specific features of the two themes.

Over time, as the myth of Śambhala develops in Tibet, the beginnings of both the journey and the history and prophecy converge at Bodhgaya. Since the latter theme deals in large part with the fate of the Buddha's teachings, which he received as a result of becoming enlightened under the Bodhi tree at Bodhgaya, the enlightenment he attained

there can be viewed as the true beginning of the history and prophecy of Śambhala. In the guidebooks and journey accounts up through the Rig pa 'dzin pa'i pho nya, the journey begins from various places in India and Tibet, both specified and unspecified. In the Kalāpāvatāra, however, it begins at Bodhgaya itself, at the tree under which the Buddha attained enlightenment, but in this text the journey is not linked with the prophecy. This happens in the Śambhala' lam yig, which then becomes the authoritative guidebook in Tibet and in which the beginnings of both the journey and the prophecy coincide at Bodhgaya. This coincidence takes on particular importance in light of the religious and symbolic significance of the vajrāsana at Bodhgaya as the place of enlightenment of all Buddhas, thereby associating that enlightenment with the beginning - and end - of both themes of the myth.

Another parallel appears between the mlecchas who arise in the history and prophecy and the mlecchas and demons encountered on the journey to Śambhala. In both themes these demonic forces must be overcome through the use of supernatural power - that generated by Raudra Cakrin on the one hand and that invoked by the sādhaka on the other. Significantly the power to subjugate these forces comes out of meditation in both themes - in the case of the prophecy, Raudra Cakrin manifests a magical army through entering the samādhi of the Best of Horses.

A parallel also appears in the Śambhala'i lam yig between the growing perfection of the sādhaka in the journey to Śambhala and the growing perfection of the kingdom itself in the history and prophecy. The former appears in the spiritual development of the sādhaka as he acquires siddhis or 'perfections' on the way to Śambhala, while the latter appears in the ending of discord and the unification of the kingdom into one vajra family devoted to the practice of the Kālacakra.

The main parallel, however, occurs between the earthly paradise at the end of the journey and the golden age at the conclusion of the prophecy. In fact, texts such as the Kalāpāvatāra explicitly compare the earthly paradise to the golden age itself: the

Kalāpāvatāra states that the inhabitants of Kalāpa "enjoy wealth and the knowledge of the aim of liberation just as in the Age of Perfection".[157] In the later sources, including Klong rdol bla ma and the Śambhala'i lam yig, Śambhala becomes a reflection in space of the entire world in the time of the golden age. In developing the shape of an eight-petaled lotus blossom, Śambhala becomes a mandala of the world transformed into the earthly paradise of the golden age and shifted north. In the mistaken reading of the Kālacakratantrarāja in the Peking edition of the Tibetan Canon, the eight directional portions of Jambudvīpa become the eight petal-like regions of Śambhala. In addition, the northward shift reflects a parallel between north as a sacred direction in space and the future as a sacred direction in time culminating in the golden age to come.

The parallels of space and time emerge with the development of the mythic journey. Tibetan interest shifts from anticipating the golden age in the future to seeking it in the present in the form of the earthly paradise. The emergence of the parallels of space and time, therefore, contribute to the rise of the mythic journey. In the earthly paradise of Śambhala, we see time - the time of the future golden age - concretized in space. Indeed, the structural parallels of space and time allow the entire messianic history and prophecy of Śambhala to be viewed as a journey through time.

The analysis to this point has focused on the development of the myth within the Buddhist tradition, even in the section on the dating and influence of the Kalāpāvatāra in India. However, as this study has indicated at numerous points, Buddhist texts dealing with Śambhala, the Kalāpāvatāra in particular, have incorporated a great deal of material from Hindu mythology, which we will examine next.

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[1]Śambhala'i lam yig, fol. 34a.

[2]Stag tshang lo tsā ba, pp. 295-96.

[3]Étienne Lamotte, Histoire du bouddhisme indien: dès origines à l'ére Śaka (Louvain: Publications Universitaires, Institut Orientaliste, 1958), pp. 13, 111, 755.

[4]Both versions exist - one in which Kunāla is banished, the other in which the functionaries are banished (Ibid.).

[5]Ibid., pp. 269-71, 281-83.

[6]Li'i yul lung bstan pa, T. 4202, in the Bstan 'gyur, Sde dge Edition, Spring yig, vol. nge, fols. 168b-188a. Text and translation are in R. E. Emmerick, Tibetan Texts Concerning Khotan (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 14-21.

[7]Arhat-Saṃghavardhana-vyākaraṇa, T. 4201, in the Bstan 'gyur, Sde dge Edition, Spring yig, vol. nge, fols. 161b-168b. A translation is in F. W. Thomas, Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan, pt. 1 (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1935), pp. 53-69.

[8]Thomas dates the prophecy to the eighth century or earlier (Ibid., pp. 41-44).

[9]According to both Tāranātha and Klong rdol bla ma, Dhānyakaṭaka lies not in south India, but on an island in the ocean. Tāranātha based his view on conversations with the Indian sādhu Buddhagupta, who claimed to have travelled there. Klong rdol bla ma seems to have based his opinion on a misinterpretation, possibly second-hand, of Man lung pa's description of a stūpa on an island he reached after passing through Dhānyakaṭaka in south India and embarking from there on a boat: Klong rdol bla ma evidently confused that stūpa with the famous one at Dhānyakaṭaka. The twentieth century Tibetan scholar, Dge 'dun chos 'phel wrote of Barabuḍur, which does lie on an island in the ocean, "If a pilgrim were to see it for the first time, he would take it for the stūpa of Dhānyakaṭaka, and this is why Man lung guru himself thought it was that stūpa." For references for the above and a discussion of the problem, see Ariane Macdonald, "Le Dhānyakaṭaka de Man-lungs Guru," pp. 192 ff., 204-206.

[10]Ibid., pp. 190-191, 201, and Klong rdol bla ma, Śambhala'i zing bkod, p. 132. According to the legend, a bhikṣu made a shower of rice fall and used the leftover rice to construct the stūpa of Dhānyakaṭaka.

[11]See Stag tshang lo tsā ba, p. 43.

[12]For a detailed description of the Buddha's teaching of the Kālacakra Tantra at Dhānyakaṭaka, see Newman, pp. 52-54.

[13]Vimalaprabhā, p. 132.2.

[14]Ibid., pp. 132.2 ff.

[15]Vimalaprabhā, p. 131.5, and Klong rdol bla ma, Śambhala'i zhing bkod, pp. 133-34. On a revealing discrepancy between the list of names of the succeeding rigs ldan kings in the Sanksrit Vimalaprabhā and in later Tibetan tradition, see the chapter 4.

[16]Tibetan texts refer to him as 'Jam dpal sgrags pa, which has led a number of western scholars to reconstruct his Sanskrit name as Mañjuśrīkīrti. However, the Sanskrit versions of the Kālacakratantrāja and Vimalaprabhā refer to him as Yaśas. The Tibetan translators evidently wanted to stress his association with Mañjuśrī, since 'Jam dpal sgrags pa would construe as Mañjuśrī Yaśas, probably shorthand for Yaśas [the emanation of] Mañjuśrī.

[17]Vimalaprabhā, pp. 132.2 ff.

[18]Ibid., p. 132.3. The text reads, "Kla klo'i lha bi ṣi mi la la'i sngags..."

[19]For a more complete account of this episode, see Newman, pp. 59-64. Tibetans apparently translated kalkin as rigs ldan on the basis of an artificial meaning of 'family or class' given to kalka in the Vimalaprabhā (Sanskrit), fol. 14b. There we find the following verse quoted from the mūlatantra:

> vāgmī vajrakule yena tena vajrakulī yaśaḥ
> caturvarnaikakalkena (my underlining) kalkī brahmakulena na.

The passage says that Yaśas will become Kalkin by making the four varnas or classes into one kalka. However, no Sanskrit dictionary I consulted gives kalka the meaning of 'class or family'. It means, rather, 'filth or dirt'. The original Sanskrit text of the mūlatantra apparently created an artificial meaning of kalka in order to sever associations with the origin of the title kalkin in the avatar of Viṣṇu by that name. I am grateful to David Reigle for bringing this verse to my attention - it will be published in David Reigle, "The Lost

Kālacakra Mūla Tantra on the Kings of Śambhala," Eastern School Bulletin 1, no. 1 (forthcoming).

[20]Śambhala'i lam yig, fols. 45a-46a.

[21]Interview quoted in Bernbaum, Way to Shambhala, p. 237.

[22]Klong rdol bla ma, Śambhala'i zhing bkod, p. 133.

[23]Stag tshang lo tsā ba, p. 41; Hoffmann, Religions of Tibet, pp. 126-29; and Roerich, Blue Annals, p. 755. Hoffmann concludes that the teaching appeared in India in A.D. 966 since the texts say that it went up to Tibet sixty years after it was brought to India and since the accepted date for its introduction into Tibet is 1026. Newman, on the other hand argues, that the Kālacakra appeared openly in India in the eleventh century during the reign of the sixteenth rigs ldan or kalkin, Sa skyong or Mahīpāla, named after the monarch of that name reigning in eastern India at that time (Newman, pp. 65-76).

[24]Kālacakratantrāja, 1.153.

[25]Thu,u bkwan, p. 503.

[26]Hoffmann, "Kālacakra Studies I," pp. 56-60. Kālacakratantrāja, 1.153 appears as vs. 1.152 in Hoffmann.

[27]Kālacakratantrāja, 1.153.

[28]Stag tshang lo tsā ba, p. 41; Csoma de Körös, Grammar of the Tibetan Language, pp. 182-83.

[29]The location of Śambhala in the Buddhist texts and the religious influences in the tantra itself, along with the directions given in the guidebooks and accounts of journeys to the kingdom, point to Central Asia as the source of the Kālacakra Tantra, or else the teachings that would have inspired it. The place or region that teaching would have come from would have been the historical prototype of Śambhala. In The Way to Shambhala, I argue for the Uighur kingdom of Khocho in the Turfan Depression as the most likely site for such an historical prototype, but I also mention other possible sites in Central Asia

(Bernbaum, Way to Shambhala, pp. 40-46). See also Hoffmann, Religions of Tibet, pp. 125-126.

[30]Sambhala'i lam yig, fol. 46b., and K'am-trl Rinpoche, p. 10.

[31]Kālacakratantrāja, 1.160.

[32]Khempo Lodu Sangpo, Dardo Rinpoche, and Samdong Rinpoche - versions recorded in Bernbaum, Way to Shambhala, pp. 240-41.

[33]Ibid., pp. 239-40.

[34]His name in Tibetan texts is Drag po 'khor lo can, 'The Wrathful One with the Cakra'. In the Kālacakratantrāja and Vimalaprabhā, Sanskrit versions, his name appears as Mahācakrin Raudra Kalkin or simply Raudra Kalkin. I have chosen to use the form Raudra Cakrin since that comes closest to the Tibetan translation of his name.

[35]Klong rdol bla ma, Śambhala'i zhing bkod, p. 137. Kālacakratantrāja, 1.160 refers to him directly as a cakravartin: "Kailāsādrau yugānte suraracitapure cakravartyāgamiṣyat (my underlining)."

[36]Bernbaum, Way to Shambhala, pp. 12, 29.

[37]Smra mkhas rta mchog ting 'dzin (Vimalaprabhā, p. 131.5).

[38]Rta mchog du ma spro ba'i ding nge 'dzin (Śambhala'i lam yig, fol. 46b).

[39]Kālacakratantrāja, 1.160 ff.

[40]Śambhala'i lam yig, fol. 46b.

[41]Kālacakratantrāja, 1.160-63. The name Kṛnmatin is corrupt: the Peking edition translates it into Tibetan as Byed pa'i blo, 'Mind of Action or Mind that acts'; Bu ston's translation of the text has Byis pa'i blo', 'Childish Mind'. The thang ka of Śambhala in Tucci's, Tibetan Painted Scrolls, Tanka no. 178, plates 211-213, has the name of the mleccha leader inscribed as 'Byas pa'i blo' and that of Hanūman as 'Hanumanda'. Hanūman is the form of the name in the Sanskrit version of the Kālacakratantrāja. He appears in the Peking edition of the Canon as Hanumānda, in Bu ston as Hanumantha (Kālacakratantrāja, Peking Edition, p. 134.2; Bus ston, Collected Works, Pt. 1, p. 45)

[42]Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes, Śambhala'i smon lam, p. 151; Blo bzang dam chos rgya mtsho, p. 467.

[43]See, for example, Tucci, Tibetan Painted Scrolls, Tanka no. 178, plates 211-213.

[44]See Bernbaum, The Way to Shambhala, plate 4.

[45]Kālacakratantrāja, 1.168; Klong rdol bla ma, Śambhala'i zhing bkod, pp. 137-38.

[46]Śambhala'i lam yig, fols. 47a-47b; Klong rdol bla ma, Śambhala'i zhing bkod, p. 139.

[47]Kālacakratantrāja, 1.164. Sureśa, 'Lord of the Gods', is a name of either Indra or Śiva.

[48]Kālacakratantrāja, 1.167; Klong rdol bla ma, Dus 'khor ming gi rnam grangs, pp. 171, and Śambhala'i zhing bkod, p.134.

[49]Kālacakratantrāja, 1.167.

[50]Padmanabh S. Jaini has pointed out that Maitreya "plays a very minor role [in Tantric literature] compared to such peers as Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara. He is not mentioned at all in such major works as the Hevajra-tantra; and ritual manuals like the Sādhanamāla devote only a paragraph to him. One significant passage in the Guhyasamāja-tantra shows that Maitreya was considered even by the Tantric tradition as undeveloped in the mysteries of the Vajrayāna" (Padmanabh S. Jaini, "Stages in the Bodhisattva Career of the Tathāgata Maitreya," in Maitreya, The Future Buddha: Proceedings of the Princeton Conference on Maitreya Studies, May 1983, eds. Alan Sponberg and Helen Hardacre [Princeton: Princeton University Press, forthcoming]). In the passage referred to in the Guhyasamāja-tantra, Maitreya becomes frightened and deeply agitated by the answer to his question on how Buddhas and Bodhisattvas should regard a Vajracārya who has been anointed (Ibid.; Benoytosh Bhattacharya, ed., Guhyasamāja-tantra, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, no. 53 [Baroda: Oriental Insitute, 1967], p. 138).

[51]See Bernbaum, Way to Shambhala, pp. 244-45.

[52]Klong rdol bla ma puts Śambhala in Mahācīna, the second to northernmost zone (Klong rdol bla ma, Śambhala'i zhing bkod, p.128); Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes locates it in Kailāsa or Himavat, the northernmost zone (Śambhala'i lam yig, fol. 42a). The six zones

of Jambudvīpa are, from south to north, India, Tibet, Li yul (the region of Khotan), Cīna, Mahācina, and Kailāsa or Himavat.

[53]Kālacakratantrāja, 1.149-50; Śambhala'i lam yig, fol. 42a.

[54]Kalāpāvatāra, fols. 350b, 361b. The text hardly mentions Śambhala: it generally speaks of the region or country of Kalāpa.

[55]The messenger is instructed to pass by Ti se on his way to Kashmir; much later and much farther to the north he comes upon Śambhala in the mountain of Kailāsa. Nga dbang 'jig grags clearly regards the true Kailāsa as distinct from the mountain regarded as such by Hindu and Buddhist pilgrims (Rig pa 'dzin pa'i pho nya, pp. 38, 50).

[56]Man lung pa, fol. 15b.

[57]The Kālacakratantrāja uses the Indian system in which various terms refer to different numbers - here muni stands for the number 'seven', derived from the seven ṛṣis of Indian mythology.

[58]Kālacakratantrāja (Peking Edition), p. 134.1-2. The Tibetan is as follows:

> chang dang lan tshva'i chu gter dbus su thub pa sa yi dkyil 'khor la ni las sa yang dag gnas|| dpag tshad 'bum phrag gsum la nyi ma'i dum bu rnams su mi yi bdag po rim pas 'khod par [for 'khor bar] 'gyur|| dum bu gcig la dpag tshad stong phrag nyi shu lnga ste g.yas kyi phyed la Śambhalar grags pa|| thub mchog gi gnas grong ni bye ba lhag par gnas te nor gyi 'dab ma rnams dang bcas pa yi|| phyogs rnams kun du mchog gi gangs ri yis ni rnam par bskor te de yi dbus na kai la sha|| sa la kai la sha yi dum bu de ni gangs kyi ri dang bcas pa'i kun nas sum cha ste|| phyi rol du ni 'dab ma re re dag kyang nyin byed yul dang gling gi yul rnams dag gis brgyan|| bye ba'i grong gis nges bar bcings pa yul du 'gyur te 'bum phrag grong rnams kyis ni yul 'khor ro.

For an explanation of the cosmography in this passage, see Bu ston's version and my note on it below.

[59]For example, Klong rdol bla ma, Śambhala'i zhing bkod, p. 128. Śambhala has ninety-six principalities divided among eight petal-shaped regions, resulting in twelve in each region.

[60]Outside the seven rings of mountains and oceans surrounding Mount Sumeru is the land of karma (karmabhūmi) where religion can be practiced. It is composed of twelve portions (khanda) or continents (dvīpa), four major ones at the cardinal points, each with two satellites. This system of twelve continents is called the greater Jambudvīpa. One of its major continents, the one in the south, is the lesser Jambudvīpa, our world. The eight directional divisions of the lesser Jambudvīpa are described as petals('dab ma) in the Tibetan text, portions (dala) in the Sanskrit. Kailāsa lies at the center of these eight petals of the lesser Jambudvīpa, which is a bit strange, since it should lie in the northern part of the continent.

[61]Bu ston, Rgyud kyi rgyal po, pp. 38-39. The Tibetan is as follows:

> chang (gi mtsho) dang (mtsho bdun 'khyi'i(?)) lan tshva'i chu gter (gnyis kyi) dbus su thub pa (ste bdun pa) sa yi dkyil 'khor la ni ('dzam gling chen po) las (kyi) sa yang dag gnas|| (te de'i phyi'i mtha skor gyi tshad la) dpag tshad 'bum phrag gsum la nyi ma'i dum bu (ste gling bcu gnyis) rnams su (dus sbyor gyi dbye bas nyi ma 'khor ba bzhin) mi yi bdag po (bcom ldan 'das dus kyi 'khor lo) rim pas 'khor bar 'gyur|| (gling) dum bu bcig la ('bum phrag gsum la bcu gnyis kyi chas thob pa mtha skor gyi tshad)| dpag tshad stong phrag nyi shu lnga ste (gling re re'ang) nor gyi 'dab ma (ste phyogs mtshams kyi cha brgyad) dag dang bcas pa'o|| de ('dzam gling chung ngu'i 'dab ma brgyad po) yi dbus su kai la sha ste (de yang) mchog gi gangs ri yis ni phyogs rnams kun tu bskor ba'o|| sa la kai la sha yi dum bu gangs kyi ri dang bcas pa de ni kun nas (dpag tshad stong phrag nyi shu rtsa lnga'i) sum cha ste|| (de'i) phyi rol du ni 'dab ma (brgyad po) re re dag kyang nyin byed yul (te yul bcu gnyis) dang gling gi yul (te grong 'bum phrag) rnams dag gis brgyan|| (de'i) g.yas kyi phyed ni (chu bo si ta'i byang na) Śambhalar grags (pa'i yul rigs ldan la sogs pa'i

skyes bu dam pa) thub mchog gi gnas (te de la) grong ni bye ba shag par gnas pa pa ste||

[62]According to Lokesh Chandra, the works of Bu ston were collected before the seventeenth century in an edition from Zha lu, Bu ston's monastery. However, text at hand is from the Lhasa edition of his works, presumably carved and printed later on. The Fifth Dalai Lama mentions the collected works of Bu ston in his writings, dating from the seventeenth century. For a discussion see the preface of Collected Works of Bu ston, pp. 2-3.

[63]Kālaçakratantrāja 1.149-50. For the date of the mansuscript, see the preface of Vira and Chandra, Kālacakra-Tantra and Other Texts, p. 16. The Sanskrit reads as follows:

madyakṣārābdhimadhye munimahivalaye saṃsthitāṃ karmabhūmiṃ
trailakṣe yojane ca bhramati narapatiḥ sūryakhaṇḍān krameṇa |
khaṇḍaikaṃ yojanānāṃ vasudalasahitaṃ pañcaviṃśatsahasraṃ
kailāsaṃ tasya madhye varahimagiriṇā veṣṭitaḥ sarvadikṣu || 149 ||

bhūmau kailāsakhaṇḍaṃ himagirisahitam tatra bhāgaṃ samantād
bahye caikaikayantraṃ dinakaraviṣayair bhūṣitaṃ dvipadesaiḥ |
savyārdhe sambhalākhyaṃ munivaranilayaṃ grāmakotyādhivāsaṃ
koṭigrāmair nibaddho bhavati hi viṣayo maṇḍalaṃ grāmalakṣaiḥ || 150 ||

[64]For example, Vimalaprabhā, p. 132.1.

[65]For example, Klong rdol bla ma, Ṣambhala'i zhing bkod, p. 131.

[66]Kalāpāvatāra, fol. 356a.

[67]R. E. Emmerick, ed. and trans., The Book of Zambasta (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 321.

[68]Khotan was the major oasis in the Tarim Basin region of Central Asia, the most likely area to have been the source of the Kālacakra teachings that reached India in the tenth

century. See the discussion in the section above on the theme of the messianic history and prophecy, particularly the notes.

[69]Jan Fontein, The Pilgrimage of Sudhana (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1967), p. 9.

[70]See the discussion of the dating and influence of the original Sanskrit version of the Kalāpāvatāra later in this chapter.

[71]Klong rdol bla ma, Śambhala'i zhing bkod, p. 132.

[72]Ibid., p. 129; Śambhala'i lam yig, fol. 43a.

[73]K'am-trl Rinpoche, p. 7. In the Buddhist tradition, the palace of Indra is in Trayastriṃśa, the city of the gods on the summit of Sumeru, and is called Sudarśana. In the Hindu tradition, the residence of Indra is called Amarāvatī.

[74]Kalāpāvatāra, fols. 358b, 360a.

[75]For example, Kālacakratantrāja, 1.160.

[76]These three incarnate as the four most important kings of Śambhala: Vajrapāṇi as Sucandra, Avalokiteśvara as Puṇḍarīka, and Mañjuśrī as Yaśas and Raudra Cakrin (Klong rdol bla ma, Śambhala'i zhing bkod, pp. 133-34).

[77]See for example Ibid., p. 131; Rong tha blo bzang dam chos rgya mtsho, pp. 465-467; Vimalaprabhā, p. 132.2 ff.

[78]For a discussion of the classification of tantras into four classes, a classification particulary popular among Dge lugs pa authors, see Mkhas grub rje's Gryud sde spyi'i rnam par gzhag pa rgyas par brjod edited and translated in F. D. Lessing and A. Wayman, Introduction to the Buddhist Tantric Systems, 2nd ed. (New York: Samuel Weiser, 1980), pp. 101-271. Wayman summarizes the features of the four classes in his Introduction to the Second Edition on pp. 1-3.

[79]See discussion later in this chapter on the dating and influence of the Kalāpāvatāra.

[80]Vimalaprabhā, p. 132.3-4.

[81]See for example Rong tha blo bzang dam chos rgya mtsho, pp. 465-467.

[82]Bernbaum, Way to Shambhala, pp. 9-10.

[83]See discussion later in this chapter.

[84]This is the basic theme, for example, of 'Rong tha blo bzang dam chos rgya mtsho's prayer for rebirth in Śambhala, the Sham bha lar skye ba'i smon lam. For a typical - and very important - description of the conditions in Sukhāvatī, see the passages of the Sukhāvatīvyūha translated in Edward Conze, ed. Buddhist Texts through the Ages (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1964), pp. 202-206. A buddhakṣetra or Pure Land is characterized by the presence of a Buddha whose kṣetra or field it is. Śambhala satisfies this prerequisite for being considered a Pure Land by virtue of its association with the Ādibuddha in the form of the Kālacakra deity. The term 'Pure Land' is not found in Indian Buddhism and originated in China, where conceptions of Pure Lands became very popular and influential. The emergence of Śambhala as a Pure Land may reflect the growing influence of the Chinese in Tibet, both political and religious. For a brief history of the Pure Land school in China, see Kenneth Ch'en, Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), pp. 338-350, 398, 402, 460.

[85]From an interview with Dudjom Rimpoche in Kathmandu in 1976.

[86]See, for example, the the reference by the fourth century Chinese monk, Chih Tun - based on older Indian sources - to "Boys and girls [who] are born from lotus blossoms [in Sukhāvatī], and therefore not defiled by the maternal womb" (Wolfgang Bauer, China and the Search for Happiness, trans. Michael Shaw [New York: The Seabury Press, 1976], p. 163).

[87]Potalaka-gamana-mārga-pattrikā (Po ta la kar 'gro ba'i lam yig) P. 4577, summarized in detail in Giuseppe Tucci, "Buddhist Notes: A propos Avalokiteśvara," Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques 9 (1948-51): 179-86.

[88]See Jean Przyluski, "La ville du Cakravartin," Rocznik Orjentalistyczny 5 (1927): 169.

[89]Tucci, Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims, pp. 2-3.

[90]Ibid., p. 4.

[91]See discussion in chapter 5 below.

[92]Śambhala'i lam yig, fol. 34a.

[93]The early texts are Man lung pa's guidebook and Bu ston and Mkhas grub rje's accounts of journeys by Indian pandits. Although the latter may be older, Bu ston wrote them down in the thirteenth century, so we will treat them as dating to that time, at least as far as the development of the theme of the mythic journey in Tibet is concerned. The later texts include: the Rig pa 'dzin pa'i pho nya, composed in the sixteenth century; the Kalāpāvatāra, translated into Tibetan in the seventeenth century; the Śambhala'i lam yig, written in the eighteenth century; and Garje Khamtrul's dream, which he had in the twentieth century.

[94]The frame occupies fols. 349a-351b of the Kalāpāvatāra. As for Amoghāṅkuśa as a manifestation of Avalokiteśvara, a sādhana invoking Amoghāṅkuśa Avalokiteśvara appears among a group of sādhanas handed down from Śākyarakṣita in The Sādhanamālā of the Panchen Lama Bstan pa'i nyi ma phyogs las rnam rgyal, Śata-Piṭaka Series 211, pt. 2, reproduced by Lokesh Chandra (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1974) pp. 101-02.

[95]The visualization of the messenger occurs in Rig pa 'dzin pa'i pho nya, pp. 21-22.

[96]Bernbaum, Way to Shambhala, pp. 168-70.

[97]Kalāpāvatāra, fols. 349b-350a.

[98]Rig pa 'dzin pa'i pho nya, pp. 15-19. The poet thinks of his father who has died and gone to Śambhala and how he is now like a rigs ldan king who can reach out to help him, even in Tibet.

[99]Bernbaum, Way to Shambhala, pp. 169, 173.

[100]Man lung pa, fol. 15a; Das, A Tibetan-English Dictionary, p. 151. King Khu khom is Queen Khom khom in Laufer's version (Laufer, "Zur buddhistischen Litteratur," p. 404).

[101]Rig pa 'dzin pa'i pho nya, p. 22. The poet has his messenger go first to the shrine of his father in Rin spungs to pray and get blessings for the journey.

[102]Kalāpāvatāra, fol. 353a.

[103]Bernbaum, Way to Shambhala, p. 168.

[104]Kalāpāvatāra, fol. 353a. The ocean is called Ratnasāgara, the Ocean of Jewels.

[105]Rig pa 'dzin pa'i pho nya, pp.23-41. On the way to Kashmir the messenger passes by Ti se, the site of Mi la ras pa's famous mountain-climbing contest with a Bon po and usually identified as Kailāsa. However, Rin spungs Nga dbang 'jig grags differentiates this mountain from the true Kailāsa since he locates the latter in the region of Śambhala, far to the north (Ibid., p. 50).

[106]For example, Klong rdol bla ma, Śambhala'i zhing bkod, p. 128, puts Śambhala in the western half of Gangs ldan, the northernmost of the six divisions of Jambudvīpa.

[107]He speaks of nomadic Hor with caravans of 80 camels living along the banks of the River Sītā and of sog po merchants travelling on roads to the southwest of Śambhala (Man lung pa, fols. 15a-15b).

[108]Ibid., fol. 17a.

[109]Mkas grub rje, pp. 167-68.

[110]Jambu chu gser, gold produced when the fruit of the mythical Jambu tree falls into water at its base (Bernbaum, Way to Shambhala, p. 171).

[111]Kalāpāvatāra, fol. 354b; Rig pa 'dzin pa'i pho nya, p. 44.

[112]For exampie, deities carry the messenger magically over th final snow mountains in a sedan chair of the gods (Rig pa 'dzin pa'i pho nya, p. 49).

[113]Man lung pa, fols. 15a-15b; Śambhala'i lam yig, fol. 41b.

[114]Blue Annals, pp. 756-57.

[115]See a paraphrase of the text and the discussion in Bernbaum, Way to Shambhala, pp. 202-203.

[116]The messenger acquires the vajra body through making love with kinnarīs who have obtained the siddhis of ḍākinīs. Just as in standard descriptions of the practice of gtum mo yoga, heat rises through his body to melt a drop or bindu in the shape of a Tibetan letter hūṃ so that a stream of silver nectar cascades down through his cakras, opening them and

allowing him to acquire a vajra body (Rig pa 'dzin pa'i pho nya, pp. 47-48). For a description of a comparable visualization in the practice of gtum mo, see Chang, Teachings of Tibetan Yoga, p. 68.

117Rig pa 'dzin pa'i pho nya, p. 50. As he nears Śambhala, the messenger is able to pass happily through a forest of wild animals and snakes because he approaches them with friendliness and compassion.

118See the discussion in chapter 1 on the nature of a mythic journey as distinguished from a literary journey of the kind presented in the Rig pa 'dzin pa'i pho nya.

119Kalāpāvatāra, fols. 360a-360b.

120Rig pa 'dzin pa'i pho nya, pp. 48-49.

121Kalāpāvatāra, fol. 357a.

122In the Rig pa 'dzin pa'i pho nya, p. 44, a desert crossing prompts the messenger to produce a magical nectar from his tonsils that enables him to go without food and water; similarly, in the Kalāpāvatāra, fol. 354b, a ritual to Marīcī enables the sādhaka to cross a desert without food or water.

123Rig pa 'dzin pa'i pho nya, p. 43. The messenger passes though a forest of killer animals with manes matted with the blood, making sounds like axes chopping wood as they break up and devour the bones of their victims.

124The brahmarṣis banished from Śambhala by Yaśas state their intention of going south of the river to India (Vimalaprabhā, 1.132.5).

125Śambhala'i lam yig, fol. 37b.

126Quoted in Stag Tsang lo tsā ba, p. 293. The other rivers flowing from Mānasarovara, referred to here as Lake Ma dros, are the Gaṅgā, the Pakṣu, and the Sindhu.

127Laufer concluded on this basis that the Sītā of this text must be the Tarim River (Laufer, p. 404 n. 4). Tucci also identifies the Sītā as the Tarim in Tucci, Tibetan Painted Scrolls 1, p. 212.

[128]Helmut Hoffmann claims to have traced the guidebooks to Śambhala up to the Amu Darya River (personal correspondence); Csoma de Körös identifies the Sītā with the Jaxartes (Syr Darya) in "Note on the Origin of the Kālachakra," p. 57.

[129]Wylie, 'Dzam gling rgyas bshad, pp. 6, 58.

[130]Kalāpāvatāra, fols. 357b-358a. Supernatural fish with the heads of animals and humans live in the river.

[131]Stein, Recherches, p. 276; Marie-Thérèse de Mallman, Introduction à l'étude d'Avalokiteçvara, Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliotheque d' études 57 (Paris: Civilisations du Sud, 1948), p. 43. Stein notes that the legend of Aśoka was diffused in Tibet by Tāranātha - who also diffused the Kalāpāvatāra through his translation of it, reinforcing the possibility of connections between the legend and the guidebook. De Mallmann notes that the story of Avalokiteśvara as a horse is the classical Jātaka of the Island of the Rākṣasīs and that in some versions Śakyamuni himself appears as the king of horses, Bālāha or Vārāha, who attempts to carry the sea-wrecked merchants to safety. The Jātaka describes the Buddha's previous life as a Bodhisattva named Siṃhanāda.

[132]Kalāpāvatāra, 353a.

[133]Ibid., fol. 359b.

[134]For references to and a discussion of these guidebooks, see Tucci, "Buddhist Notes," pp. 179 ff.

[135]Potalakar 'gro ba'i lam yig, in Tibetan.

[136]Ibid., pp. 191-93.

[137]Ibid., pp. 182, 185, 193; the necessity of magic powers for reaching Śambhala in the Kalāpāvatāra is one of the main reasons stated by Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes for adopting that text as authoritative, rather than Man lung pa's guidebook (Śambhala'i lam yig, fol. 34a.).

[138]What distinguishes tantric practices and the Vajrayāna from other forms of Buddhism is an interesting and complex question that I do not wish to pursue here. My use of

'tantric milieu' refers simply to a milieu of Vajrayāna practioners who emphasized the use of magical powers more than did Mahāyāna practitioners, who also cultivated siddhis, but did not make them as central a feature of their practice.

139Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes refers to the Kalāpāvatāra and makes extensive use of to it in his Śambhala'i lam yig, but he gives no information concerning its original author or date of composition.

140Kalāpāvatāra, fols. 349b-351b.

141As noted above, the references to Śambhala all occur in, or next to, verse passages that probably represent a later addition to the text.

142The text or teaching referred to as the De bzhin ghegs rnams snying po'i don or Phyi ma'i rgyud de bzhin ghegs rnams snying po'i don (Kalāpāvatāra, fol. 351a) may be the Śrīkālackaratantrottararantrahṛdaya (Tohoku no. 363), but the identification is not at all conclusive: the Tibetan title of the latter, Dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i rgyud phyi ma rgyud kyi snying po, differs markedly from that of the former. Also the reference to the Dam pa dang po'i sangs rgyas rgyud (the Tantra of the Holy Primordial Buddha) could be a reference to the Kālacakra Tantra, except that it apparently modifies the name of the following text (Kalāpāvatāra, fol. 351a).

143See Hoffmann, Religions of Tibet, pp. 126-29; Newman, pp. 65-76.

144According to Bandyopdhyaya, p. 72, an incomplete, palm leaf manuscript of the Vimalaprabhā preserved in the library of the Asiatic Society in 1952 has the character of fifteenth century Newari from Nepal. Lokesh Chandra makes use of two Sanskrit manuscripts of the Kālacakratantrāja, one in Bengali script with a colophon giving it a date of 1446 A.D., the other in Devanāgari without a date but found in Bir Library in Kathmandu (Vira and Chandra, Kālackara-Tantra and Other Texts, p. 18). Tāranātha specifies in the colophon of his translation of the Kalāpāvatāra that he used a manuscript from Nepal (Kalāpāvatāra, fol. 363a).

145Kalāpāvatāra, fol. 351b.

[146]The lone prose reference to mlecchas occurs in the passage describing the island visited near the beginning of the journey (Ibid., fol. 353a). Again, nothing here suggests any specific identification of the mlecchas with the Muslims.

[147]Kalāpāvatāra, fols. 351a, 363a. Wayman tentatively dates the Guhyasamāja Tantra to the fourth century A.D., six centuries before the appearance of the Kālacakra Tantra in India (Alex Wayman, Yoga of the Guhyasamājantra: The Arcane Lore of Forty Verses [New York: Samuel Weiser, 1980], p. 99). David Snellgrove is less specific about the dating of the Hevajra, which would appear to be later than the the Guhyasamāja - he concludes that the Hevajratantra existed in its present form toward the end of the eighth century, but could have been composed or have arisen from texts composed at an earlier date (David Snellgrove, The Hevajra Tantra: A Critical Study, London Oriental Series 6, pt. 1 [London: Oxford University Press, 1959], pp. 11-19).

[148]For a brief, but succinct discussion of the the generation and completion stages (utapannakrama and sampannakrama) and the manipulation of prānas, etc. in the latter stage, see Stein, Tibetan Civilization, pp. 180-86. Although visualizations of cakras and so forth can occur in the generation stage, they are emphasized much more in the completion stage of meditation in the anuttarayoga tantras. For more detailed descriptions of the completion stage, particularly in the practice of the Kālackra, see Geshe Sopa, "An Excursus on the Subtle Body," and Mullin, "Bridging the Sutras and Tantras," pp. 115-56.

[149]See the next chapter on the earlier Hindu version of Kalāpa as an āśrama.

[150]As the next chapter will show, Śambhala is not given a northern location in the Hindu antecedents of the Buddhist myth.

[151]See the discussion of Kailāsa in the next chapter.

[152]Klong rdol bla ma actually quotes the Kalāpāvatāra on this point in Klong rdol bla ma, Śambhala'i zhing bkod, pp. 129-30.

[153]Kalāpāvatāra, fol. 353a.

[154]See the discussion of Dhānyakaṭaka above.

[155]Vimalaprabhā p.132.2; Kalāpāvatāra, fol. 361b. See also the next chapter's discussion on Lake Mānasa at the foot of Kailāsa as a possible source for these lakes.

[156]Rig pa 'dzin pa'i pho nya, p. 42.

[157]Kalāpāvatāra, fol. 362a.

Chapter 4
Antecedents in Hindu Mythology

1. Messianic History and Prophecy

The theme of the messianic history and prophecy of Śambhala derives principally from the Hindu myth of Kalki or Kalkin,[1] the future avatar of Viṣṇu, who will come at the end of the degenerate age of the kali yuga to destroy the forces of evil and establish the golden age of the kṛta yuga, much in the manner of the future king of Śambhala. It also incorporates features from myths dealing with the other avatars of Viṣṇu, most notably the Rāma avatar of the Vālmīki Rāmāyana.

The Hindu myth of Kalki appears in a number of different epic and Puranic sources, ranging from early to late - from the fourth century B.C. to the seventeenth century A.D. Most of these sources contain only brief references to Kalki. The earliest acount of the myth appears in the Mahābhārata, dating from sometime between 400 B.C. and A.D. 400, if we follow Winternitz in this matter.[2] The latest, and most extended, accounts appear in the Kalki and Bhaviṣya Purāṇas, dating from the late middle ages, perhaps as late as the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries.[3] Other sources include such Purāṇas as the Matsya, Vāyu, Brahmānda, and Viṣṇu, dating from the period of the fourth and fifth centuries; the Bhāgavata from the tenth century; and the Agni, of uncertain date.[4] Since we are interested in the Hindu antecedents of the Buddhist myth of Śambhala, we will only consider sources up through the Bhāgavata, which dates from about the tenth century, the time when the Buddhist myth appeared in India. Later sources such as the Bhaviṣya and Kalki Purāṇas would not have influenced the Buddhist myth, although they may have been

influenced by it.[5] The myth of Kalki undergoes a number of changes as it develops in the Purāṇas, but most of these changes are not of great significance for our study and will not be examined in detail here.[6] Our summary of the myth will focus on those features that have some bearing on the Buddhist myth of Śambhala.

In all sources Kalki appears near the end of the kali yuga when various forces, both within and outside India, are destroying the varṇāśrama dharma, the order of classes and stages of life in Hinduism. In most sources, including the Mahābhārata, the earliest source, he is born in Śambhala grāma, where grāma refers to an inhabited place in general, usually a village or town. With the exception of the Kalki Purāṇa, which we are not considering here, none of the sources describe Śambhala in any detail: in particular, they do not describe it as a kingdom associated with snow mountains to the north. In nearly all sources Kalki is born as a brahman, not as a kṣatriya of the warrior class from which kings are supposed to come.

Sources after the Mahābhārata clearly identify Kalki as an avatar of Viṣṇu, generally the tenth one, following the Buddha, but the epic itself does not explicitly make this identification. Wendy O'Flaherty, however, has pointed out that the epithet given him in the Mahābhārata, 'Viṣṇuyaśas' or 'the Glory of Viṣṇu', suggests his status as an avatar - a suggestion that has been adopted and made explicit in later texts.[7]

In the oldest source, the Mahābhārata, Kalki performs the horse sacrifice in order to be consecrated as king and acquire the supernatural powers needed to destroy the forces of evil at the end of the kali yuga.[8] Later sources, the Bhāgavata in particular, omit the horse sacrifice and add, as a new feature, a horse that Kalki rides into battle to defeat the mlecchas and other forces threatening the varṇāśrama dharma.[9] In either case, as a sacrificial animal or as a mount, the horse clearly embodies the power that enables Kalki to defeat his enemies and establish himself as a universal king or Hindu equivalent of a Buddhist cakravartin - the Mahābhārata even refers to him as a cakravartin.[10] Indian art sometimes depicts Kalki with the head of a horse, but such a representation of him is

virtually non-existent in written texts and has not influenced the Buddhist myth of Śambhala.[11]

In nearly all sources Kalki appears endowed with supernatural powers, which he uses to destroy the forces of evil. The Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata specify a standard group of eight supernatural powers.[12] The Mahābhārata says that vehicles, weapons, and warriors will be at his disposal through his mind or thought.[13]

In both early and late sources, Kalki spends much of his time roaming around destroying mlecchas and other evil-doers, such as dasyus and śūdra kings. These enemies of the varnāśrama dharma include people from India as well as foreigners.[14] Kalki destroys them in a series of actions, rather than in one final decisive battle, as in the Buddhist myth.

In fact, in the Hindu myth, Kalki's primary role is that of destroyer, bringing the kali yuga to an end and preparing the way for the kṛta yuga. In a number of sources, such as the Matsya and Brahmāṇḍa, he destroys evil-doers at the end of the kali yuga and passes away before the advent of the golden age in the succeeding kṛta yuga.[15] Even in those sources, such as the Mahābhārata, where he initiates the kṛta yuga, he does not play much of a role in it. All this is in keeping with his name, Kalki or Kalkin, which means 'possessing or pertaining to filth, impurity, falsehood, etc.' - referring to the spiritual and moral filth of the kali yuga that he cleans up.[16]

The name of Kalki himself has been appropriated in the Buddhist myth of Śambhala. It appears in the Sanskrit version of the Kālacakratantrarāja as the title of Raudra Cakrin and the kings of the second lineage of Śambhala.[17] Tibetan versions of the Kālacakratantrarāja - and subsequent texts composed in Tibet - have translated the term kalki as rigs ldan, thereby transforming its meaning from that of 'pertaining to filth' to that of 'pertaining to family or class', the equivalent of the Sanskrit term kulika. This appears to have come about as a result of the influence of the story of Yaśas and the sages in which he unified them and the kingdom itself into one vajrakula or diamond family.

The title of Kalki is applied, in particular, to Raudra Cakrin, the twenty-fifth king of the rigs ldan lineage, who performs much the same function in the Buddhist myth as Kalki does in the Hindu. As this title clearly indicates, he has been adopted from the Hindu myth as an embodiment of Kalki in a Buddhist context. He too comes at the end of a degenerate period to defeat the forces of adharma and initiate a golden age of dharma. However, the conception of dharma has changed from that of varnāśrama dharma to that of buddha dharma, the law or teaching of the Buddha. From a brahman incongruously playing the part of a Hindu çakravartin, Kalki has been transformed into a Buddhist çakravartin with greatly expanded attributes and connotations. Raudra Cakrin is born into a lineage of kings whereas Kalki is either a brahman or the son of a brahman with no mention of his father being a king. The name of Kalki's father in certain Hindu sources, Viṣṇuyaśas, is paralleled by Yaśas, the name of Raudra Cakrin's father in the Sanskrit version of the Vimalaprabhā, indicating an additional influence of the prophecy of Kalki on the Buddhist myth of Śambhala. The Yaśas mentioned here may be a second one or the first rigs ldan king returned, suggesting the possibility that the name of the latter - particularly in the form Mañjuśrīyaśas - derives from the Viṣṇuyaśas of Hindu mythology.[18]

The other striking feature drawn directly from the Hindu myth is the name of Kalki's birthplace, Śambhala itself. However, this feature has been radically transformed from a grāma or inhabited place into an enormous kingdom surrounded by snow mountains north of India. Whereas the sources of the Hindu myth only mention Śambhala in passing, those of the Buddhist myth devote extensive descriptions to it, making it a kingdom suitable for a cakravartin and transposing it to a northern location. The only point of similarity, other than the name itself, is that the Buddhist Śambhala is also the birthplace of a messianic figure who will defeat the forces of evil and establish a golden age of dharma.

The mlecchas or barbarians, who figure among a number of groups, both foreign and domestic, threatening the varnāśrama dharma in the Hindu myth, subsume the others

in the Buddhist myth, where they appear as the only group threatening the buddha dharma. As noted in the last chapter, the list of mleccha leaders in the Kālacakratantrāja includes the names of important Jewish, Christian, Manichean, and Muslim figures. The earlier texts of the Buddhist myth, such as the Kālacakratantrāja and Vimalaprabhā clearly identify the mlecchas with the Muslims in particular. This identification of mlecchas with Muslims does not appear in the earlier versions of the Hindu myth, which certainly predate the appearance of Islam in the seventh century.

The horse that plays an important role in the Hindu myth also appears in the Buddhist. Just as Kalki rides a horse to defeat the forces of evil in later Hindu sources, such as the Bhāgavata, so does Raudra Cakrin in the final battle against the mlecchas in the Buddhist prophecy. In addition, the horse sacrifice performed by Kalki in the Mahābhārata may have been internalized in the samādhi of the Best of Horses performed by Raudra Cakrin in the Buddhist myth: both the sacrifice and the meditation (or samādhi) give their performers the supernatural power needed to defeat their enemies.

Finally, the scheme of four yugas that underlies the prophecy of Kalki has also been incorporated into the Buddhist myth. There the four yugas as cosmic ages have been transformed and shortened into the four yugas or periods of the appearance and decline of the buddha dharma.[19] In addition, the cyclical nature of these yugas has nearly disappeared in the history and prophecy of Śambhala. The golden age of the Buddhist myth will gradually taper off, but whereas Kalki comes again and again with each new kali yuga, Raudra Cakrin comes only once.[20]

The myths of the avatars of Viṣṇu, in particular the group of ten known as the daśāvatāra, play roles of particular importance in Hindu mythology so it is not surprising to find their influence in the Buddhist myth of Śambhala, especially since the last avatar, Kalki, is so closely associated with Raudra Cakrin, the future king of that myth. The Hindu myths of the daśāvatāra are found in numerous Purāṇas and other sources,

including the ones mentioned above in connection with Kalki, and certainly predate the appearance of the Kālacakra Tantra in India in the tenth century.

The names of all ten avatars appear in the Buddhist myth of Śambhala. The first eight, up through Kṛṣṇa, have been incorporated as names of kings of Śambhala in the order of their appearance in Hindu mythology. These kings are prophesied to succeed the two sons of Raudra Cakrin, whose names are also borrowed from Hindu mythology - the latter two are named Brahmā and Sureśa.[21] The remaining two avatars, the Buddha and Kalki, are already accounted for in the Buddhist myth: the Buddha appears, of course, as the Buddha, teaching the Kālacakra to King Sucandra, and Kalki appears as the name or title of Raudra Cakrin in the Sanskrit version of the Kālacakratantrarāja, as noted above. Like Kalki, all these avatars have been transformed into full-fledged kings in the prophecy of Śambhala.[22]

Other than the prophecy of Kalki, the only myth of a specific avatar to influence the Buddhist myth of Śambhala to any extent, other than merely to contribute the name of a king, is that of Rāma, particularly as expressed in the Vālmīki Rāmāyana. Hanuman, the monkey god who assists Rāma in his battle against the rākṣasas, appears as the name of the general, Hanūman or Hanumanda, who assists Raudra Cakrin in his conquest of the mlecchas.[23] However, the Buddhist myth does not characterize Hanūman as a monkey.[24] The defeat of the demonic forces in both myths results in a succeeding golden age - the rāmarājya in the Rāmāyana and the rule of enlightened kings in the prophecy of Śambhala. Both golden ages are characterized by the supremacy of dharma, but conceived differently in their respective Hindu and Buddhist contexts.

Aśvatthāman, the name of the mleccha general killed by Hanūman in the Buddhist myth, reflects the influence of the Mahābhārata. In that epic he is a celebrated warrior and general on the side of the Kauravas, the forces of evil pitted against the Pāṇḍavas, the followers of Yudhiṣṭhira, the embodiment of dharma. In an important episode of the climactic battle of the Mahābhārata, Yudhiṣṭhira tricks Droṇa by calling out that

Aśvatthāman is dead, referring to an elephant by that name. Droṇa, however, thinks that his own son, Aśvatthāman, has died, and in his grief he puts down his arms and allows himself to be killed.[25] Two secondary characters who play important roles in the battles of the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyana have, therefore, been brought together to face each other in the apocalyptic battle of the Buddhist myth.

Underlying the whole conception of the final battle between the king of Śambhala and the mlecchas, we find, of course, the omnipresent theme in Hindu mythology of the constant struggle between the devas and the asuras as embodiments of dharma and adharma. The Kālacakratantrarāja makes this influence explicit by putting the gods, in particular Viṣṇu and Śiva, on the side of Raudra Cakrin and calling the mlecchas the manifestation of the asuras.[26] This is reinforced by the names of devas given to the two sons of Raudra Cakrin who succeed him after the defeat of the mlecchas - the names of Indra and Brahmā.[27] As the king of the gods in Hindu mythology, Indra is very closely associated with the struggle between the devas and asuras. He also has a magnificent palace that embodies the material virtues of the golden age to come and is often compared by Tibetan authors to Kalāpa, the palace of the kings of Śambhala.

Our study shows that, in general, the Hindu antecedents of the messianic history and prophecy of Śambhala have been adopted in a fairly straightforward manner. The retention of names of deities and other important figures in the Buddhist myth makes the connections with the Hindu myths quite clear. The transformations undergone by the specific features adopted in the messianic history and prophecy of Śambhala are relatively minor compared to the much more radical transformations found in the other two themes. However, they are of significance in terms of the overall development of the Buddhist myth.

The straightforward adoption of material from Hindu mythology goes along with the stability of the theme of the messianic history and prophecy. As noted in the previous chapter, this theme appears full-blown from India and undergoes relatively little change or

futher development in Tibet. This makes sense in view of the fairly direct borrowing of material from Hindu mythology in India itself, which would have fixed the form of the theme at an early stage of its development.

2. Earthly Paradise

When we turn to the theme of the earthly paradise, the adoption of material from Hindu mythology becomes much more complex. A number of places from a variety of Hindu myths have contributed to the Buddhist version of Śambhala. Although a couple of these places have contributed their names directly to the Buddhist myth, the influence of the others is less direct and more difficult to discern.

The name of Śambhala itself has been drawn from the birthplace of Kalki. It first appears in the Mahābhārata and has a variety of spellings in the apparatus of the critical edition of that epic - Śambhala, Sambhala, Sambala, Samvala, and Sambhrta.[28] In the Buddhist myth it appears with only two spellings, either Śambhala or Sambhala - the former more common in Tibetan transliterations, the latter used in Sanskrit versions of the Kālacakratantrarāja.

The discussion of the influence of the prophecy of Kalki above made note of the extensive elaboration Śambhala has undergone in the Buddhist myth. The specific features of the kingdom itself have been drawn from other sources in Hindu mythology or developed within the Buddhist myth. Except in the Kalki Purāna,[29] which would have had no influence on such texts as the Kālacakratantrarāja and Vimalaprabha, the Hindu version of Śambhala is not described as an earthly paradise - nor is there any description of a palace there, such as the one belonging to the Buddhist kings. In fact, we find no description of Śambhala - other than references to it as a grāma or inhabited place - in any of the Hindu sources early enough to have influenced the Buddhist version of the kingdom. In addition, in the Buddhist myth, Śambhala becomes the goal of a journey,

described in itineraries of various lengths. None of the Hindu texts dealing with Kalki even mention Śambhala as the destination of such a journey, much less describe an itinerary for going there.

Kalāpa, the palace and capital city of the Buddhist version of Śambhala, plays a particularly important role in the Buddhist myth, sometimes even overshadowing that of Śambhala itself. It appears in Hindu mythology as the name of an āśrama inhabited by siddhas and ṛṣis in mountains north of India. The oldest references to it occur in the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas, which clearly predate the composition of the earliest Kālacakra texts.[30] It also appears in later works such as the Viṣṇu, Matsya, and Bhāgavata, as well as a late addition to the Mahābhārata, dating from about the ninth century.

Like Śambhala in the Kalki myth, the Hindu version of Kalāpa is generally described as a grāma. The Vāyu also describes it as an 'abode of siddhas', and the Bhāgavata says that ṛṣis live there.[31] Two sages in particular are associated with Kalāpa - Maru and Devāpi, who are said to be waiting there for the end of the kali yuga in order to reestablish the kṣatriya class at the beginning of the next kṛta yuga.[32] According to the Bhāgavata, at the end of the kali yuga, they will propagate the varnāśrama dharma once again.[33] Although none of the sources, except for the later Kalki Purāṇa,[34] link them, or Kalāpa, directly to Kalki, they are clearly associated with the messianic ideas that play such an important role in that prophecy - and the Buddhist myth of Śambhala. Indeed, passages referring to Maru and Devāpi residing in Kalāpa occur only a few lines after accounts of Kalki in the Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata Purāṇas.[35]

Kalāpa lies among mountains to the north of India. The Vāyu puts it on the eastern slope of Himavat while an addition to the Mahābhārata suggests a location north of Himavat.[36] A number of Purāṇas say it is watered by the Gaṅgā in mythical regions near the river's source[37] - i.e. Kailāsa - while the Brahmāṇḍa implies that it lies in the vicinity of Uttarakuru, far to the north of the Himālaya. The latter text describes how King

Purūravas went to the north and disported himself with Urvaśī in the forests of "the northern Kurus and Kalāpagrāma indeed".[38]

Along with its name, the Hindu version of Kalāpa seems to have contributed a number of important features to the Buddhist myth of Śambhala - more in fact than has the Hindu version of Śambhala itself. First, it provided the idea of a northern mountain sanctuary, lacking in the brief reference to Śambhala in the Kalki prophecy and so important in Buddhist descriptions of the kingdom. In particular, Kalāpa supplied associations with Kailāsa and snow mountains, the latter in the form of Himavat. It also provided a model for the kingdom as a residence of sages and kings: Devāpi and Maru, the sages who live there in the Hindu texts, are also kings, the first being a descendant of the ancient king Puru, the second being a king of the Ikṣvāku lineage.[39] Finally, Kalāpa reinforced the messianic ideas associated with Śambhala, pertaining to the end of the kali yuga and the beginning of the kṛta yuga.

In the process of being adopted by the Buddhist myth, however, Kalāpa has undergone a number of transformations. From a simple hermitage of sages, it has been transformed into an immense palace and capital of cakravartins. The presence of the sage kings Devāpi and Maru in the original Hindu version of Kalāpa may have provided the inspiration for this transformation, along with prototypes for the Bodhisattva monarchs of the Buddhist version of Śambhala. In addition, Kalāpa itself has been transposed even farther north and made into the goal of a journey - both features suggested in the Hindu myths but not fully developed in them. For example, the addition to the Mahābhārata mentioned above makes a brief reference to a journey by the widows of Kṛṣṇa over Himavat to take up residence in Kalāpa but does not describe it in any detail - nor is such a journey taken up in any other of the sources consulted.[40]

The descriptions of the place of Kalāpa in the Buddhist texts probably reflect the influence of Amarāvatī, the palace of Indra and a common prototype for divine palaces in Hindu and Buddhist mythology. Later Tibetan texts compare Kalāpa to Indra's residence

by saying that the wealth of Indra cannot compete with the wealth and splendor of Kalāpa.[41] In any case, like the Buddhist version of Kalāpa, Amarāvatī, or its Buddhist counterpart, also lies to the north and is associated with mountains, since it often appears on the summit of Mount Sumeru.[42] Buddhist diagrams and paintings of the Sumeru world system show the palace of Indra on the summit of Sumeru itself, which lies north of our world, the southern continent of Jambudvīpa. This northern mountain location would have made comparison with Kalāpa even more inviting and increased the likelihood that Amarāvatī influenced the Buddhist version of Kalāpa in at least a background way, if not more directly.

On the other hand, Kailāsa, the sacred mountain of Hindu mythology and pilgrimage, has been incorporated directly into the Buddhist myth of Śambhala, complete with its name. It appears in the latter in two forms: one as a distinct mountain, the other as a region or division of Jambudvīpa.[43] In Hindu sources Kailāsa generally takes the form of a distinct mountain - a form preserved in the Kalāpāvatāra. The second, and more common, form in the Buddhist myth - that of a region or division of Jambudvīpa - appears to be a transformation of the original. However, there is a precedent for this transformation in Hindu mythology, in particular, in the Mahābhārata, where Kailāsa is described as a mountain range over six hundred yojanas long.[44]

In Hindu mythology Kailāsa is located north of India, generally in the Himālaya. In the Buddhist myth of Śambhala we find it transposed far to the north - the Rig pa 'dzin pa'i pho nya even goes so far as to imply that the mountain commonly regarded as Ti se or Kailāsa is not the true Kailāsa, which lies instead much farther to the north in the vicinity of Śambhala.[45] We find a precedent for such a transposition in Hindu mythology in the following line from the Mahābhārata describing the Pāṇḍavas pilgrimage to the northern regions: "...they passed even over the Northern Kurus, until they saw the great and wondrous Mount Kailāsa."[46]

In any case, the mountain is regarded in Hindu mythology as the residence of two important deities, Śiva and Kubera.[47] As an earthly paradise equipped with parks and, in the case of Kubera, with a palace,[48] Kailāsa supplies yet another model influencing the development of the Buddhist versions of Kalāpa and Śambhala. In fact, in a revealing scribal error, the Kalāpāvatāra at one point substitutes the name Kailāsa for Kalāpa.[49] Through its close association with Śiva and Kubera, Kailāsa brings to bear on the Buddhist myth the influence of Śiva and Kubera.

In the Kalāpāvatāra Śiva appears under his common epithet 'Blue Neck' on Kailāsa in the region of Kalāpa.[50] His surroundings on the mountain are described in terms of lovely plants and gems, much in the manner of Hindu descriptions of Kailāsa.[51] Perhaps inspired by this connection, later Tibetan etymologies of the word Śambhala interpret it as meaning the land or country 'held by Śiva', drawing on Śiva's alternate name of Śambhu. According to the Shel gyi me long, a nineteenth century work, "That which is called 'Śambhala' is called 'That which holds the source of happiness', and as for the source of happiness, that is the name of Śiva. The land held by him is also said to be Śambhala."[52] Such an association of Śambhala with Śiva, the archetypal yogin, would have reinforced, or helped to develop, a view of Śambhala as a place of yogins and yogic practices.

An early association of Śiva with Kalāpa and Śambhala would have also encouraged the close association between the Buddhist kingdom and Avalokiteśvara. As Marie-Thrse de Mallman has shown, by the tenth century, when the Kālacakra appeared in India, Śiva and Avalokiteśvara had become linked to the point of being interchangeable, especially as both had acquired the common epithet 'Lokeśvara' - precisely the name used for Avalokiteśvara in the Kalāpāvatāra.[53] This early association of Avalokiteśvara with Śambhala has continued up to the present day, as evidenced in Garje Khamtrul's visionary dream of going to the kingdom to receive teachings and prophecies from his root lama in the form of that Bodhisattva.[54] As noted in chapter 3, the association of Avalokiteśvara with Śambhala would have had the further consequence of making the kingdom a ripe

candidate for transformation into a Pure Land like Sukhāvatī, the Pure Land associated with that Bodhisattva.

The influence of Śiva is also apparent in the prophecy of Śambhala. He appears there under his alternate name of Rudra in the final battle against the mlecchas on the side of Raudra Cakrin.[55] Now Rudra, of course, is a name for Śiva in his wrathful aspect, an aspect that may have influenced the development of both the name and character of Raudra Çakrin himself, particularly in the Tibetan translation of his name in the Canon as Drag po 'knor lo can, 'The Wrathful One with the Wheel'.

As the residence and palace of Kubera, god of wealth and guardian king of the north, Kailāsa provides yet another model for Kalāpa as a northern earthly paradise of great wealth and splendor. This is reinforced by Kubera's associations with Uttarakuru, which, as we shall see, has served as a basic prototype for Hindu and Buddhist paradises in general and northern ones in particular.

Kubera himself probably provided a model for the kings of Śambhala as northern guardians of wealth. This model would have been reinforced by Kubera's mythical association with the kings of Khotan, who were said to be descended from that deity in the form of Vaiśravaṇa. Such an influence is especially likely in view of the fact that Khotan probably served in part as an historical prototype for the kingdom of Śambhala itself.[56]

The Rāmāyaṇa presents an opposition between Kubera in the north and Rāvaṇa in the south, in which the former embodies the virtues of dharma and the latter the vices of adharma. The epic relates how Kubera was the half-brother of Rāvaṇa and originally resided in Laṅkā in the south; at the request of Rāvaṇa he gave him Laṅkā and moved to Kailāsa in the north. Later, Rāvaṇa came north to attack and ravage Kailāsa.[57] This opposition between Kubera and Rāvaṇa - along with the basic conflict between Rāma and Rāvaṇa - may have contributed to the prophecy of Śambhala, providing a model for the opposition of Raudra Cakrin to Kṛnmatin, the leader of the mlecchas, cast in the role of a demon. The opposition between the two figures in the two myths also goes along with a

corresponding opposition between their associated directions of north and south, in which the mlecchas conquer the southern portion of Jambudvīpa before threatening the rule of Raudra Cakrin in the northern region of Śambhala.

Kubera's name does not appear among the names of the kings of Śambhala. Rather, he provides a background influence based on the characteristics of his role and attributes in Hindu mythology. We would not expect him to appear explicitly in the Buddhist myth since he already occupies a place in Buddhist mythology as a lokapāla situated north of Śambhala on the northern side of Sumeru. In addition, in Buddhism he is regarded as a worldly deity, whereas the kings of Śambhala are all emanations of transcendent bodhisattvas.

Kailāsa itself is located near Lake Manasarovar, which appears in Hindu mythology as Mānasa.[58] The lakes of mind in the vicinity of Kalāpa in the Kalāpāvatāra and later sources may owe their origin to this lake, whose name in Sanskrit means 'Pertaining to Mind', which could have been translated into Tibetan as yid kyi tsho.[59] Tibetans generally refer to Manasarovar as Ma pham, but this does not rule out the possibility of an alternate designation for it in the Kalāpāvatāra.

As one of the oldest paradises of Indian mythology, the northern paradise of Uttarakuru has also provided an important background influence on the myth of Śambhala. The earliest reference to it appears in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa in a discussion of conquests needed as prerequisites for performing the rājasūya rite to consecrate a king.[60] The Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa have extensive descriptions of Uttarakuru itself - something missing in the Aitareya. The description of Uttarakuru in the Rāmāyaṇa appears in an itinerary for a northern journey to that paradise that has influenced the Buddhist guidebooks to Śambhala, the Kalāpāvatāra in particular, as will be seen later in this chapter.

On the basis of its early date and the archetypal nature of descriptions of it, a number of scholars such as Tucci, Eliade, and Ronnow have suggested that Uttarakuru provided

the basic stereotype for later Hindu paradises and subsequent Buddhist heavens and Pure Lands.[61] Tucci, in particular, has compared the features of Uttarakuru to those of the Potala, Avalokiteśvara's mountain paradise that serves in later Tibetan sources as the southern counterpart to Śambhala.[62] In what follows we will extend this comparison to Śambhala, where the influence of Uttarakuru would have been more direct and logical since both earthly paradises lie to the north.

Before proceeding, we should point out that Uttarakuru has entered Buddhist cosmography directly as the northern continent or dvīpa of the Sumeru world system. In this Buddhist setting, however, Uttarakuru loses some of the paradaisical qualities of its Hindu prototype; in particular, it does not provide the ideal conditions for spiritual practice and the attainment of liberation. On the other hand, it is portrayed as a paradise compared to the other three dvīpas.[63] As in the case of Kubera, since Uttarakuru already appears in Buddhist cosmography as a paradise of a non-transcendent nature, we would not expect to find it appropriated directly by name into the myth of Śambhala. Rather, we would expect to find it as a background influence contributing to features of the Buddhist kingdom.

The earliest reference to Uttarakuru, in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, is as follows:

> Therefore Atyarāti Jānaṃtapi, though not a king, through his knowledge went round the earth completely, conquering on every side. Vāsiṣṭha Sātyahavya said, "Thou hast conquered entirely the earth on every side: do thou make me great." Then said Atyarāti Jānaṃtapi, "When I conquer, O Brahman, the Uttara Kurus, then thou wouldst be king of the earth, and I should be thy general." Vāsiṣṭha Sātyahavya replied, "That is a place of the gods; no mortal man may conquer it. Thou hast been false to me; therefore I take this from thee." Then Amitratapana Śuṣmiṇa Śaibya, a king, slew Atyarāti Jānaṃtapi, whose strength had been taken away and who had lost his power.[64]

The following description of Uttarakuru comes from the Bhīṣmaparvan of the Mahābhārata:

> South of [Mount] Nīla, on the north side of Meru are the sacred northern Kurus, frequented by siddhas, O King. There the trees have sweet fruit and are always receiving flowers and fruit. The flowers, moreover, are fragrant and the fruits of good taste. Some of the trees there, O King, have fruits according to one's every wish. Other trees there, O King, are called 'milk yielding'. These always drip milk of six tastes, like amrta, and yield clothes and ornaments in their flowers. All the land is filled with gems and has sand of fine gold. Everywhere (or, always) it is agreeable and free from mud, O King. All who have fallen from devaloka are born there as humans, endowed with analogous virtues (or, qualities), in analogous dress. They are born as couples, the women resembling apsaras. They drink the milk like amrta of those milk-yielding [trees], and the couples born there grow up equally, [each] endowed with similar virtues, having similar dress, devoted to each other, like cakravāka geese, O Ruler. Free of illness, without sorrow, always happy, ten thousand and ten hundred years they live, O Great King, and never abandon one another.[65]

Another description, from the Rāmāyana, will appear later in this chapter as part of the translation of the journey to Uttarakuru in that epic.

The resemblances between the Hindu version of Uttarakuru and the Buddhist version of Śambhala are strongest in the Kalāpāvatāra and later Tibetan sources in which the kingdom has emerged as an earthly paradise. However, even in the other sources, such as the Kālacakratantrarāja and Vimalaprabha, the two still have a number of features in common.

In all sources, both Hindu and Buddhist, Uttarakuru and Śambhala have a northern location. However, Uttarakuru generally lies farther north, on the northern side of Meru, whereas Śambhala remains on the southern side, in the southern continent of Jambudvīpa.

Along with a northern location, Uttarakuru and Śambhala share the related feature of inaccessibility. Like Uttarakuru Śambhala cannot be conquered nor reached by ordinary mortals. In all textual sources of the Buddhist myth, the mlecchas are unable to conquer the kingdom, and in the Kalāpāvatāra and later Tibetan texts, only yogins endowed with supernatural powers can reach Śambhala. Similarly, Uttarakuru is singled out in the Aitareya Brāhmana as the land of the gods that cannot be conquered,[66] while in the Mahābhārata it is the only place that Arjuna cannot conquer in his conquest of the northern quarter. The epic adds that ordinary mortals cannot enter Uttarakuru, nor can they see anything there with ordinary eyes.[67] As the passage from the Mahābhārata indicates, like Śambhala, the Hindu paradise is also hidden. The inaccessibility of Śambhala and its immunity to conquest, both crucial features of the kingdom, particularly in later sources, may well have come from the Hindu version of Uttarakuru, in particular from a pattern set by the early reference in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa to the latter as unconquerable.

The inhabitants of both Uttarakuru and Śambhala enjoy objects of desire and wealth. This feature is stressed a little less in the myth of Śambhala than in the myth of Uttarakuru. Gems and other precious substances abound in both places, but whereas in Uttarakuru they are scattered everywhere - the land is filled with them in the above passage from the Mahābhārata - in Śambhala they tend to be concentrated in the jewelled palace of Kalāpa - or at least textual descriptions of them are focused there. The Kalāpāvatāra, however, does describe a great variety of jewels and other precious objects in the countryside outside Kalāpa.[68] In both Uttarakuru and Śambhala, the necessities of life are provided without effort - food of all sorts is abundant and other necessities, such as clothes and couches to sleep on grow on trees in Uttarakuru.[69]

The inhabitants of the two paradises are both male and female. Although people engage in spiritual practices, particularly in Śambhala, neither place is a paradise for celibate ascetics, although monks are found in some Tibetan versions of Śambhala.[70] Indeed, neither celibacy nor asceticism are characteristic features of either Śambhala or Uttarakuru. The inhabitants of both places are happy, wealthy, and know neither sickness nor premature death. However, the lifespan in Uttarakuru is considerably longer than in Śambhala - over ten thousand years compared to not less than a hundred.[71] Unlike the Hindu texts, the Buddhist texts do not stress long life as a virtue of their earthly paradise. They and the Hindu texts do, however, stress the virtue of their inhabitants, who lead blameless lives. The Buddhist sources, in particular, emphasize the religious or spiritual virtues of those who live in Śambhala - an aspect not particularly emphasized in the Hindu. Many of the inhabitants of both paradises are siddhas, or their equivalents, if we take siddha to mean 'accomplished one', as it does in the Buddhist tradition.[72] However, in the myth of Uttarakuru the term may be referring to a kind of supernatural perfected being found in Hindu mythology.[73] In any case, the use of the term itself would have influenced the Buddhist myth by bringing in connotations of enlightened sages of the sort we find in Śambhala.

In general, Śambhala has a more spiritual nature as an earthly paradise than does Uttarakuru - although that aspect is not completely lacking in the latter, as we can see in the Mahābhārata's reference to the northern Kurus as "sacred or pure".[74] In addition, the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa refers to Uttarakuru as "a place of the gods".[75] However, unlike Uttarakuru, Śambhala is noted for the spiritual teachings it holds and the opportunities it offers for religious practices leading to liberation. This added dimension of the kingdom reflects its development from the kind of sensual paradise embodied in Uttarakuru to a more spiritual paradise having the nature of a Pure Land.

In summary, as one of the earliest and most prominent paradises in Hindu mythology, Uttarakuru is the logical candidate to have provided a background model or

stereotype for Śambhala as an inaccessible earthly paradise of the far north. Speaking of the inhabitants of remote and mythical regions of Jambudvīpa, Rnnow has pointed out that "most extensively described are the conditions among the Uttarakurus."[76] The influence of Uttarakuru as a background model is most visible in the Kalāpāvatāra and later Tibetan texts that emphasize the nature of Śambhala as an earthly paradise.

Hindu mythology also speaks of another earthly paradise hidden in the north, this one of a more spiritual nature than Uttarakuru. Śvetadvīpa or the White Continent is said to be a sacred island of Viṣṇu/Nārāyaṇa, inhabited by extraordinary devotees possessed of supernatural powers and white complexions.[77] It shares a number of features with the Buddhist version of Śambhala, suggesting the possibility of its having influenced the latter.

Like Śambhala Śvetadvīpa is closely linked with the goal of attaining liberation. Mokṣa awaits those who are able to reach it and obtain this boon through union with, or devotion to, Viṣṇu.[78] Those who reach Śambhala find there the means of attaining enlightenment or liberation in the Buddhist sense. Both Śvetadvīpa and Śambhala stand out as earthly paradises of the north directly connected with the goal of attaining liberation within their respective traditions - a feature not shared by the myth of Uttarakuru.

The previous section of this chapter on the theme of the messianic prophecy noted the strong influence of Hindu myths associated with Viṣṇu on the Buddhist myth of Śambhala - those of Kalki and Rāma in particular. This influence would have provided fertile ground for additional influence from the myth of Śvetadvīpa as the residence of Viṣṇu, associated in some sources with his avatar Rāma. In the Skanda Purāna Śiva goes to Śvetadvīpa to petition Viṣṇu, who promises to take birth in Ayodhyā; in the Padma Purāna Śiva asks Rāma at the conclusion of his avatāra to return to his place in Śvetadvīpa.[79]

Like Śvetadvīpa Śambhala is closely associated with extraordinary beings possessed of divine wisdom and supernatural powers. The spiritual devotees who worship Viṣṇu in Śvetadvīpa correspond to the Bodhisattvas and sages devoted to the Buddha's teachings in

Śambhala. In addition, certain Buddhist texts, such as the *Śambhala'i lam yig*, describe the inhabitants of Śambhala as dressed in white, perhaps reflecting the influence of the 'White Men' of Śvetadvīpa.[80]

These features shared by the two paradises suggest a possible, even likely, influence of the Hindu paradise on the Buddhist, but one that cannot be demonstrated conclusively. In general, like Uttarakuru, Śvetadvīpa would have provided a background influence, but more distant and tenuous than that of Uttarakuru. It would, in particular, have supplemented the latter's influence with an atmosphere of greater spirituality, fleshing out Śambhala as a spiritual rather than merely sensual paradise.

As an earthly paradise, Śambhala embodies a syncretic composition of various elements from Hindu mythology. In the Buddhist myth, specific features from the Hindu version of Kalāpa have been assimilated to Uttarakuru as a background stereotype for the idea of a northern earthly paradise. Kalāpa has also been linked with Kailāsa and the latter's associations with Kubera and Śiva and the conceptions of wealth and asceticism they embody. The resulting complex of Kalāpa/Kailāsa has been transposed north and spiritualized, perhaps under the background influence of Śvetadvīpa. At a later stage, reflected in the *Kālacakratantrarāja*, this entire complex was assimilated to the Hindu conception of Śambhala as the birthplace of Kalki, the prototype of Raudra Cakrin. This would have happened in response to the Muslim destruction of Buddhism in Central Asia and the Hindu assimilation of Buddhism in India. Buddhists of that period in India and Central Asia would have been primed to look for both a sanctuary where their teachings might survive and for a messianic figure to defeat the forces of Islam and establish a golden age of Buddhism.

The appropriation of material from Hindu mythology in the theme of the earthly paradise is clearly more complex and syncretic than in the theme of the messianic history and prophecy. The former has drawn on a greater variety of Hindu myths and has made connections and transformations that are not as clear and straightforward as in the latter.

This has left more room for change and development of the theme later on in Tibet. The theme of the earthly paradise was not fixed on its arrival to Tibet and was therefore much less stable in that country.

3. Mythic Journey

A journey to the Hindu version of Śambhala would be the logical prototype or antecedent for the Buddhist journey to Śambhala. However, no such journey exists in Hindu mythology.[81] Since Kalāpa plays such an important role in the Buddhist myth, at times even overshadowing Śambhala itself, the next most logical candidate would be a journey to that abode of sages. However, once again we find no such journey in Hindu mythology, other than the brief reference to a journey there by the widows of Kṛṣṇa in a late addition to the Mahābhārata - a reference that supplies no details or features that would have influenced the Buddhist guidebooks to Śambhala.[82] This leaves no other recourse than to look for antecedents elsewhere in Hindu mythology.

As the analysis in Chapter 3 revealed, Kailāsa appears in the Buddhist myth as either a mountain in Śambhala or as a region containing the kingdom. Journeys to Kailāsa do exist in Hindu mythology and are therefore more promising as possible antecedents for the Buddhist journey to Śambhala.

An extended account of a journey to Kailāsa appears in the Āranyakaparvan of the Mahābhārata in connection with the Pāṇḍavas' pilgrimage to the Himālaya to look for Arjuna, who has gone to seek weapons from Indra.[83] The last stage of this journey, to Kailāsa itself, includes an episode reminiscent of the final entry into Śambhala in the Kalāpāvatāra: just as a vajraḍākinī flies the sādhaka on her shoulders over the snow mountains to Śambhala, so virtuous rākṣasas fly the Pāṇḍavas on their shoulders over snow mountains to the hermitage of Nara-Nārāyaṇa in the vicinity of Kailāsa.[84] In each journey the magic flight ends in a place of lush and beautiful foliage. In a later episode,

Bhīma ventures up the ridges of Kailāsa to an earthly paradise with a pond where Kubera desports himself.[85] Aside from the association with Kubera and riches, this part of the journey to Kailāsa has little in common with the journey to Śambhala. Indeed, with the possible exception of the flight over mountains to Kailāsa, the journey of the Pāṇḍavas seems to have had little, if any, influence on the guidebooks to the Buddhist kingdom.

On the way to Kubera's pond on Kailāsa, Bhīma encounters Hanuman. In various versions of the Rāmāyaṇa, including one preserved in Tibetan texts from Tunhuang, Hanuman takes a journey by magic flight to Kailāsa, or a mountain near it, to obtain medicinal herbs needed to revive Lakṣmaṇa and others who have fallen in the battle against the rākṣasas.[86] This journey shares two important features with the Kalāpāvatāra: one, the magic flight over mountains to the destination, and two, the presence of medicinal herbs on Kailāsa and in the valley of Ekajaṭī just inside Śambhala. The Tibetan version of the Rāmāyaṇa from Tunhuang adds an episode that may have also influenced the Kalāpāvatāra: Daśaratha, the king of Jambudvīpa, prays to five hundred arhats on Mount Kailāsa for a son; they give his queen a flower and as a result Rāma is born.[87] The appearance of flowers as a sign of the birth of a king of Kalāpa in the Kalāpāvatāra may derive from this episode.[88] In any case, the journeys of Hanuman to Kailāsa and the sādhaka to Kalāpa, situated in the region of that mountain, are both undertaken to obtain something that will benefit and save others - medicinal herbs in the case of the former, spiritual teachings in the case of the latter.

Some contemporary Tibetan lamas even go so far as to link Hanuman's journey in the Rāmāyaṇa to the myth of Śambhala, saying that he actually went to the kingdom and on his way back he threw away the snow he picked up with the herbs, thereby creating Ti se, or the mountain usually regarded as Kailāsa in western Tibet.[89] Such remarks, however, are ex post facto and prove little with regard to the earlier development of the journey to Śambhala in India and Tibet, although they are suggestive of what may have happened.

Perhaps the most celebrated journey to Kailāsa in Indian literature appears in the Meghadūta by the well-known Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa. A love-lorn yakṣa, banished from his home, sends a message back to his lover on Kailāsa via a cloud. The poem describes the way the cloud must follow to reach the palace of Kubera on the sacred mountain.[90] The overall conception of the Meghadūta or Cloud Messenger clearly served as a model for the most poetic journey to Śambhala in Tibetan literature, the Rig pa 'dzin pa'i pho nya or Knowledge Bearing Messenger, in which the poet actually considers asking a cloud to take a message to his father in Śambhala - like the yakṣa's lover in Kailāsa - before settling on a visualized yogin as his messenger. Ngag dbang 'jig grags then proceeds to give his messenger instructions and descriptions of the way in the same manner as the yakṣa does in the Meghadūta.[91]

When we turn to the specific features of the journey to Kailāsa in the Meghadūta, however, we find virtually no reflection of them in either the Rig pa 'dzin pa'i pho nya or the Kalāpāvatāra. This is not surprising since most of the features described by Kālidāsa lie in, rather than north of, India. In addition, when his messenger finally reaches the northern region of the Himalaya, Kālidāsa describes the mountains mostly in terms of generalized poetic epithets noted more for their beauty of expression than their specific content.

Finally, there may be antecedents for the journey to Śambhala in the old and established pilgrimage to Kailāsa - in certain respects the ultimate pilgrimage in the Hindu tradition. The influence of this pilgrimage on later developments of the journey to Śambhala in Tibet would have been reinforced by the importance it also has in Tibetan Buddhism.[92]

Three features from the standard Hindu pilgrimage routes to Kailāsa stand out as possible contributions to the journey to Śambhala described in the Kalāpāvatāra and Śambhala'i lam yig. The important Hindu shrine of Kedāra or Kedārnāth in Garhwal may be reflected, via scribal errors, in Mount Ketara, where Virūḍhaka comes to play in the

Buddhist journey.[93] However, Kedarnath itself lies in a cul-de-sac off the main routes and requires a side trip, which many pilgrims incorporated into their journeys to Kailāsa.[94] The pilgrimage to the sacred mountain leads, of course, through Tibet, known in Sanskrit as Bhoṭa, the name of a northern country traversed in the Kalāpāvatāra.[95] If it is indeed Tibet, the country has been transposed far to the north in the journey to Śambhala. Finally, the Hindu pilgrim goes to Kailāsa to worship the mountain as the residence of Śiva, and, as noted above, Śiva is found as 'Blue Neck' on Kailāsa at the end of the journey in the Kalāpāvatāra.[96]

Looking over these journeys to Kailāsa in the Hindu tradition, we do not find much evidence of clear and specific influence on the Buddhist journey to Śambhala. Instead, we see possible remnants or traces of features of the former superimposed on the latter. On the other hand, there is a good likelihood of a background influence of the journey to Kailāsa as a noted journey to a northern mountain sanctuary associated with wealth and yogic practices, particularly as embodied in the important deities, Kubera and Śiva.

The most promising antecedents for the journey to Śambhala are the journeys to Uttarakuru in the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa. Just as Uttarakuru probably served as the prototype for the northern earthly paradise of Śambhala, so the journey to Uttarakuru probably served as the prototype for the mythic journey to Śambhala. The journeys to Uttarakuru in the two epics are among the most elaborated of northern journeys in Hindu mythology. As such, they are repositories for a wealth of features that could have contributed to the development of the Buddhist myth. As this section will demonstrate, they do indeed share a number of specific features with the Buddhist journey to Śambhala, particularly the version found in the Kalāpāvatāra and Śambhala'i lam yig.

The journey to Uttarakuru is found in the Sabhāparvan of the Mahābhārata. It forms part of the digvijaya conquest of the four quarters executed by the Pāṇḍava brothers in order to perform the rājasūya consecration for Yudhiṣṭhira.[97] In the journey Arjuna conquers the countries of the northern quarter up to Uttarakuru itself, which he is not

allowed to enter. The description of the journey to Uttarakuru is fairly short, compared to the itinerary in the Rāmāyana, and has very few significant variants in the critical apparatus of the critical edition of the Mahābhārata. It mostly describes Arujuna's conquests and devotes scant attention to the features of the journey itself. As a consequence, we find very little in the way of specific details that could have influenced the Buddhist guidebooks to Śambhala. However, a comparison of the two journeys in relation to their contexts will prove useful in helping to elucidate the development of the journey to Śambhala in the next chapter.

The following passage describing the last part of Arjuna's journey to Uttarakuru is taken from van Buitenen's translation of the Mahābhārata:

> With supreme gallantry the Kuru went on to subjugate the Bāhlīkas, always hard to approach, in a huge holocaust. Taking their army and rejecting their poor resources, the Pāṇḍava vanquished the Daradas with the Kāmbojas. The lordly son of Indra defeated the Dasyus who live in the northeast and those who dwell in the forest. Thereafter Arjuna defeated the Lohas, the Upper Kāmbojas and the northern Ṛṣikas. The battle in Ṛṣika country between the Upper Ṛṣikas and the Pārtha was most terrifying, like that battle that was fought over Tārakā. After laying low the Ṛṣikas in a pitched fight, O king, he collected eight horses the color of a parrot's breast, others colored like peacocks, and still others of both colors. Having conquered the Himālaya and the Niṣkuṭa, the bull reached the White Mountain and camped there.
>
> Vaiśampāyana said:
>
> When the hero had crossed over the White Mountain, O Bhārata, he came to the country that is inhabited by the Kiṃpuruṣas and ruled by Drumaputra. In a mighty mele in which many barons found their death the best of the Pāṇḍavas conquered it and extracted tribute. After taking the country called Hāṭaka, governed by the

Guhyakas, Arjuna single-mindedly occupied it with his army. Having won them over with diplomacy, he set eyes on the superb Lake Mānasa and all the rivulets of the seers. Upon reaching Lake Mānasa, the Lord Pāṇḍava won the country adjacent to Hāṭaka, which is ruled by the Gandharvas. There he received as ultimate tribute from the city of the Gandharvas beautiful partridge-colored and flecked horses with the bulging eyes of frogs. The scion of Indra and Pāṇḍu then reached the northern region of Harivarṣa and aspired to conquer that too.

Gigantic, mighty, and powerful gatekeepers drew near to him and genially said, "Pārtha, you are incapable of conquering this city in any fashion. Turn back, good man, this should suffice you, invincible champion! Any human who enters the city must die. We are pleased with you, hero; your conquest should suffice. There is nothing left for you to conquer, Arjuna. This is the land of the Northern Kurus, and no war can happen here. And if you were to enter it, Kaunteya, you would not be able to see anything, for no human eye can see what is here. Yet, if there is something else that you wish to accomplish here, tiger among men, then speak and we shall do it at your behest, Bhārata."

Upon these words Arjuna Pākaśāsani spoke to them: "I wish to assure the sovereignty of the wise King Dharma. I shall not enter your domain if it is forbidden to humans, but let something be given as tribute to Yudhiṣṭhira!" They then offered him divine textiles, divine ornaments, and divine skins and hides as tribute.

Thus the tigerlike hero conquered the North, fighting a great many battles with barons as well as Dasyus. . .[98]

As for the specific features of the journey to Uttarakuru that do appear in the Mahābhārata, only a few have any relation to features on the way to Śambhala. Most of these are names of peoples and countries conquered by Arjuna, such as the Bāhlīkas, Daradas, and Kāmbojas - countries generally included in standard Indian descriptions of

regions outside India. Other than a mention of the Himalayas, none of the mountains nor the lake - Mānasa - mentioned in the Mahābhārata appear in the guidebooks to Śambhala.[99] The influence of the epic on the Buddhist myth, if it exists, is indirect, most probably through its contribution to the journey to Uttarakuru in the Rāmāyana, which has a great deal in common with the journey to Śambhala in the Kalāpāvatāra.

The journey to Uttarakuru in the Rāmāyana appears in the Kiṣkindhākānda in a section outlining the monkeys' search for Sītā in the four quarters - a search probably modeled on the older conquest of the four quarters in the Mahābhārata.[100] The description of the journey itself takes the form of an itinerary set forth by the monkey king Sugrīva when he dispatches his subjects on their mission to find Sītā for Rāma. It describes a number of features found in the Kalāpāvatāra and later guidebooks to Śambhala. The description is quite long and detailed, and the apparatus in the critical edition of the Rāmāyana includes a number of significant variants that contribute additional items found in the journey to Śambhala.

The journey to Uttarakuru in the Rāmāyana is the most likely antecedent in Hindu mythology for the mythic journey to Śambhala. The Rāmāyana as a whole has influenced the other themes of the Buddhist myth, that of the messianic history and prophecy in particular. In addition, the Rāmāyana has been very influential in the Buddhist and Tibetan worlds - much more so than the Mahābhārata.[101] Tibetan translations of the Rāmāyana found at Tunhuang and dating from the eighth to ninth centuries predate the introduction of the Kālacakra to Tibet in the eleventh century and its appearance in India in the tenth.[102] Even today the Rāmāyana remains a source of interest and mythic inspiration for Tibetan lamas.[103] Tāranātha, who translated the Kalāpāvatāra into Tibetan, also translated the Rāmāyana and discussed it with visiting Indian pandits.[104] As for the specific journey to Uttarakuru in the Rāmāyana, it takes the same form of an itinerary as does the journey to Śambhala in the guidebooks to the kingdom. The journey to Uttarakuru in the Mahābhārata, on the other hand, is an account of the travels of a specific figure - Arjuna.

In addition, the journey to Uttarakuru in the Rāmāyaṇa is much longer and more elaborate than that in the Mahābhārata - it is, in fact, one of the longest, if not the longest, descriptions of a journey to the far north in Hindu mythology. These reasons, coupled with the numerous features shared by the two journeys, make the journey to Uttarakuru in the Rāmāyaṇa the most likely candidate in Hindu mythology to have inspired and influenced the journey to Śambhala in Buddhist mythology.

The verse numbers of the following translation of directions for the journey to Uttarakuru in the Rāmāyaṇa come from section 4.42 in the critical edition of the text. The numbers of the additions or variants on the the verses come from the critical apparatus.

(10) There [search the lands of] the Mlecchas, Pulindas, and likewise, the Śurasenas, Prasthalas, Bharatas, and Kurus, together with the Madrakas.

(11) Also the Kāmbojas, Yavanas, Śakas, and Ārattakas, as well as the Bāhlīkas, Ṛṣikas, Pauravas, and Ṭaṅkaṇas.

(12) Having searched [the preceding] again and again, search the Daradas and Himavat.

(13) Seek Rāvaṇa together with Vaidehī here and there among the forests of deodar and the groves of lodhra and padmaka [trees].

(14) Then, having gone to the Soma āśrama frequented by devas and gandharvas you will go to the mountain named Kāla, which has great ridges.

(15) On its great summits and inside its waterfalls and caves, search for the illustrious consort of Rāma, possessed of glory.

(16) Having crossed that chief of mountains, the great mountain with a womb of gold, then please go to the mountain named Sudarśana.

(17) Among its multitudes of groves, waterfalls, and caves, seek here and there for Rāvaṇa together with Vaidehī,

(18) and having gone beyond it, there is an empty place a hundred yojanas in every direction, without mountains, rivers, or trees, devoid of all beings.

(919*) There is a terrible place in the middle of mountains, without water, scorched by the rays of the sun, a hundred yojanas on all sides. There are neither lions nor tigers there, it is devoid of deer and birds.

(19) Having quickly crossed it, there is a dreary forest[105] that causes the hair to stand on end. Having reached the pale white mountain, Kailāsa, you will rejoice.

(920*) You will see the delightful, unrivalled mountain named Kailāsa.

(20) There, like pale white clouds, adorned with gold, is the divine palace of Kubera, constructed by Viśvakarman.

(21) There is a spacious lotus pond with numerous blue lotuses, filled with geese and ducks, frequented by troops of apsarasas.

(22) There Vaiśravaṇa, the king worshipped by all creatures, the munificent wealthy one, the king of the yakṣas, enjoys himself with the guhyakas.

(23) In its mountains having the appearance of the moon and in its caves, seek here and there for Rāvaṇa together with Vaidehī.

(24) And having approached the mountain Krauñca, whose chasms are impassable, be attentive, for it is said to have difficult access.

(25) Great souled maharṣis with completely divine bodies, of splendor like the sun, live there , worshipped even by the gods.

(26) Search here and there through the other caves, ridges, peaks, springs, and precipices of Krauñca,

(27) And having, moreover, searched all over the peak of Krauñca and the treeless mountain of Kāma, Mānasa,[106] the abode of birds,

(28) [You will find] no passage there for creatures, gods, demons, or goblins. That with its ridges, plateaus, and mountains, should be searched by all [of you].

(922*) Therefore investigate that mountain, Mānasa.

(29) Beyond Mount Krauñca is a mountain named Maināka. There is the palace of Maya built by the dānava himself.

(30) Search Maināka together with its ridges, peaks, and valleys. There are the abodes of women with the heads of horses.

(924*) There the delightful āśrama of celibate ṛṣis shines, frequented by the seven ṛṣis who have made dharma their only aim.

(31) Beyond that country there is an āśrama frequented by siddhas. There are found ascetics - siddhas, hermits, and bālakhilyas.

(925*) Beyond that hermitage is a mountain with much fruit and water.

(32) Ask those laudable ascetics who have accomplished austerities, who are free from stain, for news of Sītā, you of good conduct.

(33) There, covered by golden blue lotuses, is the lake Vaikhānasa, frequented by geese, beautiful as the newly risen sun.

(34) The mount of Kubera, the elephant known as Sārvabhauma, roams that country, always in the company of she-elephants.

(35) Beyond that pond, the sky is without moon or sun, without constellations of stars, devoid of clouds, without beginning [or end].

(36) That country is illuminated, as if by rays of the sun, by peaceful beings perfected in austerities, who have their own glow, like the gods.

(37) Beyond that country is the river named Śailoda, which has bamboos called kīcakas on either bank.

(38) They convey siddhas to the far bank and bring them back. There are the northern Kurus, the dwelling places of those who have done virtuous deeds.

(930*) That river cannot be crossed: it is sacred, impassable. Having touched its waters, one is turned completely to stone. It has kīcaka bamboos that stand on the banks. Without uniting, they intertwine and convey [people] to the far shore and back again. Having passed over that river with widely separated banks by means of those bamboos for crossing, then, [having crossed] that river with kīcaka bamboos, you will see the miraculous-looking river, frigid, with great current.

Having bathed in it, having been purified by the water, those who have bathed in it...[107]

(931*) They pass over the river with distant banks by means of those bamboos indeed. Then you will see the white Sītā River of miraculous course. Having bathed in it and become purified, those of virtuous conduct become resolved [to fulfill their aim]. Go quickly by means of your virtue to the northern Kurus like the world of Indra. The terrifying blue river carries away all creatures. Having crossed it with caution and having investigated it carefully, go to the spacious northern Kurus, O Best of Monkeys. They have the custom of giving, they have great fortune, eternal happiness, and are without grief. There there is neither cold nor heat, neither old age nor likewise illness. There is no sorrow, no rain nor scorching sun. (10) The earth is adorned with flowering trees that have all the fruit you desire and is decorated with gold and broad mountains of jewels. The ground is sandy, pale in color, level, without straw or thorns. It is free from dirt, with sweet smells, and everywhere soft meadows. There there are golden lotuses and rivers with golden sand. There [the land] is covered with trees of gold and studded with mountains of gold. There there are lotus ponds with lotuses of burnished gold and birds. Everwhere there are masses of red lotuses, lovely, golden, with sweet scent and filaments of golden color.

(39) There are the ones who perform ablutions in lotus ponds of golden lotuses. There [run] rivers by the thousands, abounding with leaves of lapis lazuli.

(40) There shine lakes studded with masses of red lotuses, golden like the newly risen sun.

(41) Everywhere that country is covered with conspicuous masses of blue water lillies with stamens of gold and leaves of costly jewels.

(42)And there are rivers that have raised islands abounding with pearls, jewels, great riches, and gold without measure,

(43) Overrun with various excellent trees made of all kinds of jewels and made of gold with the splendor of fire.

(933*) There mountains of gold that are heaps of jewels, gems, and stones, made of all kinds of jewels, shine, embellished with trees.

(44) Here trees with eternal flowers and fruit, full of birds, of heavenly scent, taste, and touch, pour forth all that is desired.

(934*) There is the place of the seven ṛṣis, there the celestial River Gaṅgā, there the delightful palace of devarṣis, the grove Caitraratha. There the rivers always flow with milk and have milk-boiled rice for mud. The trees, set down by Brahmā there, are oozing with honey.

(45) Other most excellent trees produce clothing of various shapes and likewise ornaments bright with loose pearls and lapis lazuli,

(46) Which are suitable for women and men. Other most excellent trees bear fruit to be happily enjoyed in all seasons.

(47) Other excellent trees produce various golden couches that are very costly and have various coverings.

(48) Still other trees produce desirable garlands and very costly drinks and various foods.

(49) And there are women endowed with excellence, marked with youthful bodies. Gandharvas, kinnaras, siddhas, nāgas, and vidyādharas having the splendor of the sun enjoy themselves with the women there.

(939*) Their thoughts devoted to each other, they do not experience separation, those men and women. See what [their] conduct is like.

(940*) There, on tree branches, there become mutually visible women possessed of beauty, beautiful, adorned with all ornaments, and men of the very best, handsome, of great valor, who are not overcome by sleepiness, hunger, or fear, who speak sweetly and gently.

(50) All who live there are accompanied by wives, all have done good deeds, all are intent upon pleasures, all are attended by the god of desire.

(51) There the sound of songs and instrumental music, together with the sound of much laughter, is constantly heard, delighting the minds of all creatures.

(52) There no one at all is unhappy, there is no one who is not truly pleasing. Virtues that delight the mind increase day by day.

(53) Beyond that country is the northern abode of waters. There, in the middle [of that abode of waters] is the great [mountain] named Somagiri.

(54) The devas who have gone to Indraloka and those who have gone to Brahmaloka together behold that king of mountains that reaches to heaven.

(55) Even though that place is without sun, its light [still] shines. It has the splendor of the sun, as if the sun were blazing.

(944) The Northern Kurus shine without the sun.

(56) Indeed, the Blessed One, the supreme being, Śambhu, the one who has the nature of the eleventh [Rudra], Brahmā, the lord of gods, dwells there surrounded by brahmarṣis.[108]

(945*) There lives the son of Brahmā and Manu, the highest mortal.

(946*) In the beginning he created creatures[109] and time in four ways and this agreeable refuge (āśrama) which is the cause of all worlds. But this divine Somagiri is not to approached by others in any way whatsoever.

(948*) Brahmā is the self[110] subdued, the self of all, the creator of all.

(57) In no way whatsoever should you, nor any other creatures, moreover, go north of the Kurus. Truly, the path does not go beyond.

(58) That indeed is [the mountain] named Somagiri, impassable even for the devas. Having seen it, then please come quickly back.

(950*) In the gardens on the flanks of that mountain and in the palaces of the gandharvas, but in no way beyond, search here and there for Rāvaṇa together

with Sītā. Then, having gone to the place of the moon,[111] which is endowed with all desires, having thoroughly looked at the rākṣasīs with girdles of great wooden mortars, having seen Vaidehī and the lair of Rāvaṇa, and having spent one night [there], you will return in a month.

(59) So far can monkeys go, O Bulls of Monkeys; we do not know the regions beyond, without sun, transgressing all bounds.

(60) You must investigate all that I have related and anything else that I have not mentioned.

The following analysis will focus on the features of the journey to Uttarakuru that show some relation to those in the Kalāpāvatāra and Śambhala'i lam yig. In addition to having the most in common with the journey in the Rāmāyaṇa, these two texts embody the most fully developed expressions of the mythic journey to Śambhala and have been the most influential guidebooks to the kingdom in Tibet. The analysis will examine features appropriated from the Rāmāyaṇa in the order of their appearance in the Kalāpāvatāra and Śambhala'i lam yig.

Both journeys have frames in which they are presented by specific speakers as itineraries to be followed by their listeners. In the Rāmāyaṇa Rāma asks Sugrīva to help him find Sītā, and Sugrīva instructs his monkeys on where to go in the north in their search for her. In the Kalāpāvatāra Avalokiteśvara asks Ārya Amoghāṅkuśa to explain the way to Kalāpa for the benefit of five hundred assembled sages, which Amoghāṅkuśa then proceeds to do. The two itineraries, however, are to be followed for a different purposes: to find Sītā in the Rāmāyaṇa and to find teachings and a place to practice them in the Kalāpāvatāra. The purpose in the Kalāpāvatāra is similar in nature to that of the overall purpose stated for reciting the Rāmāyaṇa in the frame of the Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa, which represents a later development of the epic postdating the appearance of the Kālacakra in India.[112] There, much in manner of Ekajaṭī and the five hundred sages in the

Kalāpāvatāra, the sage Nārada asks Brahmā how people can attain the highest end in the degenerate times of the future when falsity and irreligion will take over the world. Brahmā then relates how Śiva recited to Pārvatī the story of Rāma in the Adhyātmarāmāyana for the purpose of enabling devotees to attain mokṣa.[113] From the Vālmīki Rāmāyana to the Adhyātmarāmāyana, a development has taken place in the Hindu myth of Rāma similar to that undergone by the Buddhist myth of Śambhala: both have become focused on the means of attaining liberation within their respective traditions.

Turning now to the features of the journeys to Uttarakuru and Śambhala in the Vālmīki Rāmāyana and the Buddhist guidebooks, the country of Bharata, or the Bharatas, appears near the beginning of both itineraries. Sugrīva instructs his monkeys to search the land of the Bharatas.[114] Ārya Amoghāṅkuśa tells the sādhaka to begin his land travels in Bharata upon returning from his voyage to the Islands of Wealth in the western ocean.[115] As a shortened version of Bharatavarṣa or India, Bharata appears often in Indian geography and mythology; nevertheless, the reference to it near the beginning of both journeys may indicate a possible influence of the Rāmāyana on the Kalāpāvatāra.

Beyond the land of Bharata, in both journeys one comes to a mountain, called Kakāri in the Kalāpāvatāra and Kāla in the Rāmāyana.[116] The Kakā part of Kakāri may derive from Kāla through a scribal error of the kind common in Tibetan transliterations of Sanskrit names. This is particularly likely in light of the fact that the mountains appear at corresponding junctures of the two journeys - following Bharata and preceding a desert crossing. If the Kalāpāvatāra has indeed adopted this feature, it has elaborated it into the setting for an elaborate ritual to Mārīcī [117] in order to obtain the help needed to overcome the next obstacle of the journey to Śambhala - a desert crossing which is also found in the Rāmāyana.

The twenty-one day crossing of a desert without trees or water corresponds in nature and location to the desert crossing of a hundred yojanas in the Rāmāyana.[118] The

Kalāpāvatāra adds the additional feature of the sustenance provided by Mārīcī as a result of the ritual performed in the preceding episode.

A forest immediately follows the desert crossing in both journeys.[119] The Kalāpāvatāra expands the description of the forest to make it more frightening by adding dangerous animals.

The rākṣasī Mandeha invoked for additional sustenance after the desert in the Kalāpāvatāra may come from the Mandeha rākṣasas mentioned in the monkeys' search of the eastern quarter in the Rāmāyana, where they are found hanging from rocks.[120] If so, the appropriation of the rākṣasī has been made the occasion for another description of an elaborate ritual to be performed by the sādhaka on his way to Śambhala.

Gandhara mountain, where the sādhaka performs his ritual to Mandeha, corresponds in position to Kailāsa on the journey to Uttarakuru. Gandhara in the Buddhist guidebooks may be a mistransliteration of Gandhamādana. In the Mahābhārata, Gandhamādana is often treated as interchangeable or synonymous with Kailāsa, strengthening the possibility that Kailāsa has appeared as Gandhara in the Kalāpāvatāra.[121] It would have been logical for Gandhara to replace Kailāsa in the journey itself since Kailāsa already appears at the destination in the Buddhist text, transposed to the north in the vicinity of Kalāpa.

In the Kalāpāvatāra winged lions live on Gandhara.[122] The Śambhala'i lam yig specifies that these magic lions have eight legs.[123] In the journey to Kailāsa in the Mahābhārata, śarabhas with eight legs are found on Gandhamādana in the company of numerous other animals, as in the Kalāpāvatāra and Śambhala'i lam yig.[124] The presence of similar mythical creatures on the two mountains adds further evidence for identifying Gandhara in the Buddhist guidebooks with Gandhamādana - and Kailāsa - in the Hindu epics. Here the mythical śarabhas would have been transformed into magical lions.

The great snow mountain inhabited by powerful ṛṣis and yakṣas in the Kalāpāvatāra corresponds in position and nature to Mount Krauñca in the Rāmāyana, also inhabited by maharṣis of great power and splendor.[125] The Kalāpāvatāra elaborates on these sages,

making them dangerous, yet capable of flying the sādhaka directly to Kalāpa, provided he has the power to subdue others. The threatening nature of the sages may derive from Krauñca's difficulty of access in the Rāmāyana, making the mountain itself a fearful place. The Kalāpāvatāra also adds the semi-demonic figures of the yakṣas to the divine residents of Krauñca.

The River Sītā, one of the most important features of the journey to Śambhala in the Kalāpāvatāra, has many of the characteristics of the River Śailoda crossed on the way to Uttarakuru in the Rāmāyana. A variant reading of the Rāmāyana actually refers to the Śailoda as the Sītā, which it describes as brilliant or white.[126] Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes echoes this passage in the Śambhala'i lam yig when he adds that the River Sītā is so called because it is white in the middle.[127] In both the Śambhala'i lam yig and a variant of the Rāmāyana, the touch of the two rivers turns one to stone - hence the name Śailoda, meaning 'stone water' or 'having waters [that turn one to] stone'.[128] The absence of this feature of the Sītā in the Kalāpāvatāra suggests that Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes may have drawn it directly from the Rāmāyana.

The impassability of both rivers is emphasized. However, the Sītā is impassable in both the Kalāpāvatāra and Śambhala'i lam yig because it is too cold to freeze over, whereas the Sailoda cannot be crossed in the Rāmāyana because it is too sacred. However, the second variant reading in the Rāmāyana mentioned above adds the frigidity of the Śailoda as one of the factors making it impossible to cross.[129] In addition, the crossing of the Sītā is more elaborate and becomes the occasion for yet another ritual invoking a rākṣasī for her assistance.

The Sītā itself in the journey to Śambhala clearly comes from the mythic river of that name already found in Buddhist cosmography, rather than from the Śailoda in the Rāmāyana. However, it seems likely that it has picked up some additional features, particularly the touch that turns one to stone, from the latter.

The description of Ketara mountain in the Kalāpāvatāra resembles that of Kailāsa in the Rāmāyana in a number of respects.[130] Both mountains have beautiful ponds filled with lotuses and birds. Both are places where lokapālas play - Virūḍhaka, guardian king of the south, in the Kalāpāvatāra; Kubera/Vaiśravaṇa, guardian king of the north, in the Rāmāyana.[131] The replacement of Vaiśravaṇa with Virūḍhaka in the journey to Śambhala makes sense since the former is associated with Kailāsa, which, as we have noted, already appears to the north in the vicinity of Kalāpa. In addition, in Buddhist mythology Vaiśravaṇa generally guards the northern approach to Sumeru, whereas Ketara clearly lies to the south of Sumeru on the southern side assigned to Virūḍhaka. The Kalāpāvatāra describes Ketara and its environs in more detail than the Rāmāyana does Kailāsa, and, in characteristic fashion, it makes the mountain an occasion for yet another ritual.

As in the case of the Śailoda and Sītā, we can conclude that Kailāsa in the Rāmāyana has contributed some of its features to the mountain that appears as Ketara in the Kalāpāvatāra. However, there is not sufficient evidence to identify the two mountains with each other or even to say that the one derives from the other.

Another mountain in the Rāmāyana, Maināka, on the other hand, has clearly given rise to a mountain of an almost identical name in the Kalāpāvatāra - Mount Menako. In the epic horse-headed maidens live on Maināka, while in the guidebook to Śambhala horse-headed daughters of rākṣasas dwell on Menako.[132] We find virtually the same features associated with both mountains, which have almost identical names.

In Hindu mythology Maināka is the mountain son of Mena and Himālaya. The transformation of Maināka into Menako is easily explained as a mistaken transliteration from Sanskrit into Tibetan, particularly in view of the fact that the vowel ai does not exist in the latter language, whereas e does. Indeed, Das' Tibetan-English Dictionary lists 'Menako' as the Tibetan equivalent of the Sanskrit 'Maināka.[133] The transformation of horse-headed maidens into rākṣasīs with the same horse-like features may have come from the reference in the passage from the Rāmāyana to the presence on the mountain of the

palace of Maya, a dānava or rākṣasa. Other references in Hindu mythology - most notably in the epics - to the role of rākṣasas in guarding Maināka could have also contributed to this transformation.[134]

The Rāmāyana simply mentions the horse-headed maidens in passing, but the Kalāpāvatāra elaborates on them, describing the songs and music they make and warning the sādhaka not to let himself be seduced by them. A precedent for this elaboration of the horse-headed maidens into seductive demonesses may exist in another episode of the Rāmāyana in which the sage Viśvāmitra is seduced by a nymph named Menakā - almost the name of the mountain as it is spelled in the Kalāpāvatāra.[135]

The Satvalotana River, which appears north of the Sītā in the Kalāpāvatāra, shares some important features with the Śailoda River in the Rāmāyana. Like the Satvalotana, the Śailoda lies far to the north, on the borders of Uttarakuru. But more significantly, both rivers are crossed by the same, quite unusual, means - via branches that intertwine from either bank. In the Rāmāyana kīcaka canes convey siddhas back and forth across the river; in the Kalāpāvatāra the sādhaka can choose to cross over on nyagrodha branches.[136]

We have already noted the influence of the Śailoda on the Sītā. In this regard, it is significant that the Sde dge edition of the Kalāpāvatāra has Sitālotana for Satvalotana.[137] This adds further evidence for the possible influence of the Śailoda River on the Satvalotana, as well as on the Sītā. And it also suggests that the Satvalotana may function as a double or duplication of the Sītā in the Kalāpāvatāra itself. The Rig pa 'dzin pa'i pho nya supports this thesis by having only one river to cross, combining the characteristics of both the Sītā and Satvalotana in the Kalāpāvatāra.[138]

The Kalāpāvatāra's enumeration of the northern countries between the Sītā and Kailāsa includes a number of names that are also listed in the Rāmāyana, near the beginning of the journey to Uttarakuru - those of the Pulindas, Daradas, Kurus, Kāmbojas, and Bāhlīkas.[139] Most of these countries lie to the northwest of India, in the direction of the Buddhist version of Śambhala.[140] However, the Kalāpāvatāra has

transposed them far to the north of their locations in the Rāmāyana and has situated them near the end of the journey, rather than near the beginning, as in the epic.

Mount Candrakala on the edge of Śambhala in the Kalāpāvatāra may derive from the Somagiri mountain north of Uttarakuru in the Rāmāyana.[141] The names of both mountains pertain to the moon - referred to as candra and soma. Both mountains serve as impassable barriers of a spiritual nature that can only be crossed by those endowed with supernatural powers and spiritual attributes, if at all. The sādhaka crosses Candrakala by magic flight with the help of the vajraḍākinīs only after he has become spiritually fit to do so. The monkeys are warned that Somagiri is impassable even by the devas. As imposing barriers, the two mountains protect sanctuaries or places of a transcendent nature that lie in or beyond them - Śambhala, the place of enlightenment, in the Buddhist guidebooks; the abode of Brahmā, a form of the supreme deity, in the epic. In other words, both Candrakala and Somagiri have similar functions as limit points in their respective journeys.

The mythic journey to Śambhala represents a syncretic composition of various elements from Hindu mythology considerably transformed and elaborated in a new setting. With regard to its Hindu antecedents, it derives principally from two important journeys to the north - the journey to Uttarakuru from the Rāmāyana and the journey to Kailāsa from various sources, including the actual pilgrimage to the mountain.

At a relatively early stage of development in India, Kalāpa must have been associated, or brought into proximity, with Kailāsa. This would have provided the opportunity for the development of a journey to the former through association with pre-existing journeys to the latter - no significant journeys to Kalāpa existed in Hindu mythology. Such a development took place under the influence of the Rāmāyana in which the northern journey to Uttarakuru was superimposed on the nascent journey to Kalāpa/Kailāsa - the motivation for this superimposition being the northern direction of both journeys and Uttarakuru's role as the 'archetypal' earthly paradise of Indian mythology. In the process, the journey to Kalāpa/Kailāsa was greatly extended and

shifted northwards, while the features of the journey to Uttarakuru were assimilated and elaborated in a new, Buddhist context. At a later stage, when Kalāpa was associated with Śambhala, the journey to the former was also attached to the latter, resulting in a journey to Śambhala for which no precedent existed in Hindu mythology.

The appropriation of Hindu antecedents in the mythic journey to Śambhala is more complex and subtle than in the preceding themes. The connections with Hindu myths are much more tenuous and difficult to discern. The features of those myths that have been appropriated have been greatly rearranged and altered in the Buddhist myth, even in the case of the most closely related journey - the journey to Uttarakuru in the Rāmāyana. Many of them have been ritualized and made more spiritual in nature, lending themselves to metaphoric and symbolic interpretations. These transformations go with the more spiritual nature of Śambhala in comparison with Uttarakuru. In this respect the development in India of the Kalāpāvatāra from its antecedents in Hindu mythology parallels the development in Tibet of the mythic journey to Śambhala from its antecedents in earlier Tibetan literature.

In general, the complex appropriation of features from antecedents in Hindu mythology goes with the great instability of the theme of the mythic journey in India and Tibet. Just as this theme incorporates the most complicated transformations of Hindu material, so it shows the greatest instability of the three basic themes of the myth of Śambhala.

As noted above, many features of the Hindu journeys appropriated in the Buddhist myth have been put into ritual settings and made occasions for various practices of meditation. In the process, they have taken on metaphoric and symbolic dimensions they did not have in their Hindu antecedents - or did not have so explicitly. As a consequence, the journey to Śambhala has acquired a more spiritual character in the sense of embodying practices and objectives having to do with the goal of attaining enlightenment for the benefit of all beings. The transformations of the features of Hindu mythology resulting

from this shift of emphasis, therefore, reflect the central role of metaphoric juxtaposition in shaping the development of the mythic journey to Śambhala, in particular those aspects of the theme that cannot be derived directly from Hindu antecedents. The next chapter will turn, accordingly, to a study of that process as a means of completing our picture of the overall development of the myth of Śambhala.

1His name appears in both forms in the Hindu sources. However, in most of them, including the earliest, the Mahābhārata, he is referred to as 'Kalki'.

2M. Winternitz, A History of Indian Literature, trans. S. Ketkar, 2nd ed. rev., vol. 1, pt. 2 (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1963), p. 408.

3See R. C. Hazra, Studies in the Upapurāṇas, Sanskrit College Research Series, no. 11 (Calcutta: Sanskrit College, 1958), 1: 108; and Wendy O'Flaherty, Hindu Myths: A Sourcebook Translated from the Sanskrit (Baltimore: Penguin Classics, 1975), pp. 17-18.

4Winternitz, pp. 504-505, 485, 507, 478 n.2, 487-88, 496-97.

5A well-known and detailed study of the messianic idea in the Kalki myth appears in Emil Abegg, Der Messiasglaube in Indien und Iran (Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1928), but since that work focuses on the Bhaviṣya and Kalki Purāṇas, it does not throw light on the the Buddhist myth of Śambhala, which developed before them. I found no need, therefore, to draw on or make reference to it in this dissertation, which in any case focuses on the theme of the mythic journey, rather than the messianic prophecy.

6For a detailed study of these changes, making use of Abegg's work, see Edwin Bernbaum, "The Myth of Śambhala in Buddhist and Hindu Mythology," (M.A. thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1980), pp. 15-33.

7O'Flaherty, Hindu Myths, p. 237, n. 6. The Mahābhārata, 3.188.89, and the Brahmāṇḍa, 2.2.73.104, refer to Kalki as 'Viṣṇuyaśas'. However, sources such as the Viṣṇu, 4.24.98, and Bhāgavata, 12.2.18, say that Kalki is either the son of Viṣṇuyaśas or else that he is born into the household of Viṣṇuyaśas.

[8]Mahābhārata, 3.189.1.

[9]Bhāgavata, 12.2.19. Kalki does not ride a horse in the earlier sources such as the Mahābhārata. For a more complete discussion of the significance of the horse sacrifice and the horse as mount and the replacement of the one by the other, see Bernbaum, "The Myth of Śambhala," pp. 21-24.

[10]Mahābhārata, 3.188.91.

[11]For an example see T. A. Gopinatha Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, vol. 1, pt. 1 (Madras: Law Printing House, 1914), plate 35 on p. 223.

[12]Viṣṇu, 4.24.98; Bhāgavata, 12.2.16.

[13]Mahābhārata, 3.188.90. 'Mind or thought' is manas.

[14]Persians (Pahlava), Scythians (Śaka), Tokharians (Tuṣara), and peoples from various regions of India according to the Brahmānda, 2.3.73.107-109.

[15]Matsya, 47.254-61; Brahmānda, 2.3.73.116-23.

[16]Kalka, from which Kalki and Kalkin are derived, means 'filth, dirt, impurity, falsehood, deceit, sin, etc.' - all characteristics of the kali yuga which Kalki brings to an end (Monier-Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, p. 262; Manfred Mayrhofer, A Concise Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary, 3 vols. [Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universittsverlag, 1976], 1:183). However, his name may also refer to or derive from an ambiguity in his nature indicating his association with the degenerate age that he brings to an end. As Wendy O'Flaherty points out, "Kalkin is one who possesses kalka, filthy residue, sediment, or impurity; he has the dregs of the Kali Age in some way - as the image of the barbarian who is impurity incarnate, or as the god who destroys that impurity" (Wendy O'Flaherty, The Origins of Evil in Hindu Mythology [Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976], p. 202). Mayrhofer has proposed that Kalkin's name comes from an 'l' form for Karkin, 'One who has a white horse', where karka means 'white' or 'white horse' (Mayrhofer, Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary, 1:183, 171). However, this seems highly unlikely as Kalkin is only associated with a

white horse in the later sources; in the earlier ones, such as the Mahābhārata, he does not even ride a horse, much less a white one.

[17]See, for example, Kālacakratantrāja, 1.163, etc.

[18]I am indebted to David Reigle for bringing this point to my attention. His forthcoming article on "The Lost Kālacakra Mūla Tantra on the Kings of Śambhala" examines in detail the discrepancy between Sanskrit texts of the Vimalaprabhā that list a Yaśas as the king preceding Raudra Cakrin and the later Tibetan tradition that does not. In the Mahābhārata, 3.188.89, and Brahmāṇḍa, 2.2.73.104, Viṣṇuyaśas is an epithet of Kalki; in later sources such as the Bhāgavata, 12.2.18, and the Viṣṇu, 4.24.98, Viṣṇuyaśas is the name of Kalki's father.

[19]See Kālacakratantrāja, 1.168 and Klong rdol bla ma, pp. 137-38. The four yugas of the Buddhist myth occupy a span of only five thousand years.

[20]Elsewhere in Buddhist mythology, the yugas do have a cyclical nature: a series of Buddhas are prophesied to come, each initiating a golden age of Buddhist teachings that will die away before the next. In the most common version of this prophecy, there are a thousand Buddhas in a kalpa with a thousand periods of rise and decline of Buddhism much like the thousand cycles of four yugas said to make up a kalpa in Hindu mythology (see E. Obermiller, trans., History of Buddhism (Chos-hbyung) by Bu-ston [Heidelberg, 1931; Suzuki Research Foundation, Reprint Series 5, 1964], Pt. 1, pp. 90 ff., and P. V. Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra [Poona: Bhandakar Oriental Research Institute, 1958], 3:891).

[21]Klong rdol bla ma, p. 134. Sureśa is the title of either Indra or Śiva.

[22]Some of the avatars, such as Rāma, are already kings in Hindu mythology, but others, such as the tortoise avatar, are not.

[23]Kālacakratantrāja, 1.162. Hanūman appears in the Sanskrit version; Hanumanda in the Tibetan - see the discussion in the previous chapter.

[24]It is interesting to note in this regard the theories that hold that Hanuman and the monkeys in the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa were not originally monkeys but forest dwelling humans in India who helped the Aryans defeat Dravidian and tribal peoples, embodied in the rākṣasas. Robert Goldman summarizes the views of the early proponents of these theories and dismisses them in Robert P. Goldman, trans., The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki: An Epic of Ancient India, vol. 1 (Bālakāṇḍa) (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), pp. 26-27. Nevertheless, the term used for monkeys in the Rāmāyaṇa is vānara, which is derived from vanam, the word for 'forest', and could refer to forest dwellers in general, whether human or monkey. J. L. Brockington takes a more sympathetic approach to these theories: "With Kiṣkindhā and Laṅkā placed in the Jabalpur area, the view that the Vānaras and Rākṣasas are mythologised aboriginal tribes of this area is given added cogency, for in the early stages of Aryan advance southwards such peoples would have posed serious obstacles or been potentially important allies " (J. L. Brockington, Righteous Rāma: The Evolution of an Epic [Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1984], p. 120 - see also the following pages). The Buddhist myth of Śambhala has certainly incorporated Hanuman as a human rather than as a monkey.

[25]Mahābhārata 7.165-73, summarized in van Nooten, pp. 34-35. Aśvatthāman also sneaks into the Pāṇḍava's camp the night after the Kauravas have been defeated and massacres all their warriors (Ibid., 10.1-9).

[26]Kālacakratantrāja, 1.162 and 1.153.

[27]Sureśa, the name given one of the sons, probably means Indra, the Lord of the Gods, in this context.

[28]See Mahābhārata, 3.188.90, and critical notes.

[29]Kalki, 13.3-6, 13.17-18, 32.3-5.

[30]As noted above, they date to the period of the fourth or fifth centuries, whereas the Kālacakra texts date from the period after the seventh century at the earliest (see Chapter 2).

[31]Vāyu, 41.43; Bhāgavata, 10.87.7.

[32]Brahmāṇḍa, 2.3.74.250-51; Viṣṇu, 4.24.118-21; Bhāgavata, 12.2.37-38; Matsya, 273.56-59.

[33]Bhāgavata, 12.2.38.

[34]Kalki, 17-18, 20-22, 28.

[35]Viṣṇu, 4.24.98-101 (on Kalki) and 4.24.118-121 (on Kalāpa); Bhāgavata, 12.2.18-23 (on Kalki) and12.2.37-38 (on Kalāpa).

[36]Vāyu, 41.42-43; Mahābhārata, 16.8.72 and note 50* after 16.8.72. In the latter, the addition to the Mahābhārata, the widows of Kṛṣṇa cross Himavat in order to stay and practice austerities in Kalāpa.

[37]Matsya, 121.48-51; Brahmāṇḍa, 1.2.18.49-50; Vāyu, 47.47-49.

[38]Brahmāṇḍa, 2.3.66.7-8.

[39]Matsya, 273.56, read Maru for Mata; Viṣṇu, 4.24.118.

[40]Mahābhārata, note 50* after 16.8.72.

[41]Śambhala'i lam yig, fol. 43b.

[42]Buddhist mythology refers to Indra's residence on the top of Sumeru as Sudarśana, Vaijayanta, and Sudharmā in the Trayastriṃśa heaven or city of the gods (Tucci, "Buddhist Notes," pp. 202-206).

[43]Kailasa appears as a distinct mountain inside the region of Kalāpa in the Kalāpāvatāra, as a region including Śambhala in the Kālacakratantrāja and most other texts. For a discussion and folio and verse references, see the section on Kailāsa in Chapter 3 above.

[44]Mahābhārata, 3.140.10.

[45]The itinerary has the messenger pass by Ti se on his way to Kashmir before proceeding north to Kailāsa and Śambhala (Rig pa 'dzin pa'i pho nya, pp. 38-39, 50.

[46]Mahābhārata, 3.145.15, translation from J. A. B. van Buitenen, trans. and ed., The Mahābhārata, Book 2 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), p. 497.

[47]See, for example, Mahābhārata, 2.10.24; and Kālidāsa, Meghadūta, 8, 58, and 71-72.

[48]See descriptions of Kubera's palace on Kailāsa in Kālidāsa, Meghadūta, 63 ff.; Rāmāyana, 4.42.19-22; and Mahābhārata, 2.10.1-20.

[49]Kalāpāvatāra, fol. 352a, has the sādhaka strive for the means of entering Kailāsa, rather than Kalāpa, as intended.

[50]Mgrin sngon, Nīlakaṇṭha (Ibid., fol. 361a). This epithet of Śiva comes from the well-known episode in Hindu mythology in which his neck turned blue from drinking the poison produced when the devas and asuras were churning the ocean for the nectar of immortality.

[51]Ibid., fols. 361b-362a.

[52]Thu'u bkwan, p. 500. Thu'u bkwan and other Tibetan authors are apparently deriving the word Śambhala from Siva's alternate name of Śambhu, one of whose meanings is 'granting or causing happiness', i.e. 'the source of happiness' (see Monier-Williams, A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, p. 1055).

[53]Marie-Thérèse de Mallman, Introduction à l'étude d'Avalokiteçvara, Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliotheque d' études 57 (Paris: Civilisations du Sud, 1948), pp. 111-15; Kalāpāvatāra, fol. 349a, etc. De Mallmann points out that the influence of Śiva on descriptions of Avalokiteśvara becomes really apparent in works of sādhana - texts describing precisely the kind of tantric practices prescribed to the sādhaka in the Kalāpāvatāra.

[54]When he finally meets him in Śambhala, his root lama, in order to convince Garje Khamtrul of his authenticity, turns into the four-armed form of Avalokiteśvara. He then proceeds to give him a course of spiritual practice based on the visualization and invocation of that Bodhisattva (Bernbaum, Way to Shambhala, pp. 173, 178).

[55]Kālacakratantrāja, 1.160.

[56]See Chapter 3 above.

[57]Related in the Bālakānda and the Uttarakānda - for a summary and discussion, see Robert Antoine, Rāma and the Bards: Epic Memory in the Rāmāyana (Calcutta: Writers Workshop, 1975), pp. 48-59, 96-97.

[58]See, for example, Mahābhārata, 2.25.5, translated below. Manasarovar is, of course, derived from Mānasa.

[59]See the discussion of this point in the previous chapter.

[60]Aitareya Brāhmana, 8.23

[61]Tucci states, "We are really confronted with a stereotype [of Hindu and Buddhist paradises and Pure Lands] which is not peculiar to the Buddhists, but rather a common lore of both Buddhists and Hindus. Most probably this stereotype is fundamentally based upon the description of the Uttarakurus, the northern land considered as the abode of the Blest from very early times..." (Tucci, "Buddhist Notes," pp. 196-97). See also Mircea Eliade, Yoga: Immortality and Freedom, trans. W. R. Trask (New York: Pantheon Books, 1958), p. 223; and Kasten Rönnow, "Some Remarks on Śvetadvīpa," Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies 5, pt. 2 (1929): 272.

[62]See discussion in Chapter 3.

[63]For more complete discussions of the nature of Uttarakuru in Buddhist cosmography, see Stanley J. Tambiah, "The Buddhist Cosmos: Paradise Lost, Gained, and Transcended," History of Relgions 24, no. 1 (1984): 78, and Tatz, p. 87.

[64]From Aitareya Brāhmana, 8.23, translated in Arthur B. Keith, trans., Rigveda Brāhmana: The Aitareya and Kauṣītaki Brāhmanas of the Rigveda, Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 25 (1921, reprint 1971), pp. 338-39.

[65]Mahābhārata, 6.8.2-10.

[66]Aitareya Brāhmana, 8.23

[67]Mahābhārata, 2.25.7-12. See translation below.

[68]Kalāpāvatāra, fol. 362a

[69]Rāmāyana, 4.42.44-48.

[70]See, for example, Śambhala'i lam yig, fol. 44a.

[71]See Mahābhārata, 6.8.10 above and Kalāpāvatāra, fol. 362a.

[72]Uttarakuru is "frequented by siddhas" in the Mahābhārata, 6.8.2 above; brahmarṣis, the equivalent of Buddhist siddhas, live in Śambhala.

[73]See the various meanings of siddha in Monier-Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, p. 1215.

[74]Mahābhārata, 6.8.2, above.

[75]See translation above.

[76]Rönnow, p. 271.

[77]Mahābhārata, 12.335-36 (Bombay edition). Clark, "Śakadvīpa and Śvetadvīpa," pp. 231-35, summarizes, translates, and discusses the relevant passages.

[78]See the discussion and lines quoted from the Mahābhārata in Rönnow, pp. 274 ff. Rönnow also points out similarities between the liberation encountered in Śvetadvīpa and in Buddhist heavens and Pure Lands such as Sukhāvatī (Ibid., pp. 272 ff.).

[79]See V. Raghavan, The Greater Ramayana (Varanasi: The All-India Kashiraj Trust, 1973), pp. 40, 57.

[80]Śambhala'i lam yig, fol. 44a. The white clothes and turbans described there may also reflect Manichaean influences since the followers of Mani wore such dress (see Hoffmann, "Kālacakra Studies I," pp. 57-58 with reference to Śvetavastrin as Mani in the Kālacakratantrāja).

[81]None of the sources available to me described such a journey or referred to a description of one in any other source.

[82]See above.

[83]Mahābhārata, 3.140-45.

[84]Ibid., 3.144.20-145.24. The flight even takes them over Uttarakuru to Kailāsa, which, in this passage, lies north of that earthly paradise.

[85]Ibid., 3.146-53. In the course of describing Bhima's journey, the Mahābhārata sometimes refers to the mountain with Kubera's pond as Gandhamādana, sometimes as Kailāsa - the two seem interchangeable in the epic.

[86]In the Vālmīki Rāmāyana Hanuman flies up and over the Himālaya to fetch herbs from the Herb Mountain situated between the golden mountain of Ṛṣabha and the peak of Kailāsa. Like the sādhaka in the Kalāpāvatāra, Hanuman is given an itinerary to follow, but it is very brief (Rāmāyana, 6.61.26-68). Hanuman goes to Kailāsa itself for the medicinal herbs in a Tibetan version of the Rāmāyana that was found at Tunhuang (J. W. de Jong, "An Old Tibetan Version of the Rāmāyaṇa," Toung Pao 58 [1972]: 197). Other scholarly works dealing with Tunhuang texts of the Rāmāyana include: J. W. de Jong, "The Tun-huang Manuscripts of the Tibetan Rāmāyaṇa Story," Indo-Iranian Journal 19 (1977): 37-88; J. K. Balbir, L'histoire de Rāma en tibétain d'après des mansucrits de Touen-houang (Paris, 1963); and F. W. Thomas, "A Rāmāyaṇa Story in Tibetan from Chinese Turkestan," in Indian Studies (Lanman Commemorative Volume) (1929), pp. 193-212.

[87]De Jong, p. 194.

[88]Kalāpāvatāra, fol. 362a

[89]Lama Kunga Rinpoche made this remark in a conversation in Berkeley, California, talking about his and other Tibetan lamas' understanding of the Rāmāyana. In the Vālmīki Rāmāyana Hanuman uproots the Herb Mountain and brings it back with him to Lakṣmaṇa; after using its herbs he returns the mountain to its place in the Himālaya (Rāmāyana, 6.61-68). He does the same with Kailāsa in the Tibetan version from Tunhuang (De Jong, p. 197).

[90]Sanskrit text and translation in Leonard Nathan, trans., The Transport of Love: The Meghadūta of Kālidāsa (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976).

[91]Rig pa 'dzin pa'i pho nya, pp. 19 ff. The title of the Tibetan poem is even patterned on that of Kālidāsa - both refer to a messenger.

[92]For descriptions of pilgrimage routes to Kailāsa, accounts of various pilgrims and travellers to the mountain, and the importance of the pilgrimage in Hindu and Tibetan Buddhist traditions, see Swami Pranavananda, Kailās-Mānasarovar, 2nd ed. (New Delhi: Swami Pranavananda, 1983), Lama Anagarika Govinda, The Way of the White Clouds (Berkeley: Shambhala, 1962), Charles Allen, A Mountain in Tibet (London & Sydney: Futura, Macdonald & Co., 1983), and John Snelling, The Sacred Mountain (London and The Hague: East West Publications, 1983).

[93]Kalāpāvatāra, fol. 357a.

[94]According to Charles Scherring, who was Deputy Commissioner of Almora at the beginning of the twentieth century, Hindu pilgrims used to make extended pilgrimages to Kailāsa starting at Hardwar and going via the shrines at Badrinath, and Kedarnath (Snelling, The Sacred Mountain, p. 26).

[95]Ibid., fol. 359b.

[96]Kalāpāvatāra, fol. 361a.

[97]The overall digvijaya occupies Mahābhārata, 2.23-29; the conquest of the northern quarter itself occupies vs. 2.23.13-25.20.

[98]Mahābhārata, 2.24.22-25.17, translated in van Buitenen, Mahābhārata, pp. 79-80.

[99]Mānasa does not appear on the way to Śambhala, but it may have given rise to the lakes of mind in the kingdom itself. See the discussion above in this chapter and the preceding chapter.

[100]Directions for the search of the four quarters occupy Rāmāyana, 4.39-42. As will be seen in chapter 5, the search for Sītā follows the same mandala pattern as the digvijaya in the Mahābhārata. I am indebted to Barend van Nooten for pointing out the possible influence of the conquest of the four quarters in the Mahābhārata on the search of the four directions in the Rāmāyana. Brockington, pp. 112-14, 339-40, assigns the search party accounts to the second or third stage in his scheme of the development of the Vālmīki Rāmāyana, making them fairly late and therefore more apt to have been influenced by the

earlier account of the digvijaya in the Mahābhārata. Stage 2 corresponds to the period between the third century B.C. and the first century A.D; stage 3 to the period beween the first and third centuries A.D. He also notes that "it is not improbable that the original [account of the search parties in the Vālmīki Rāmāyana] contained a brief allusion to searches in all directions as well as to their return, such as is found in the Rāmopākhyāna (the short version of the Rāmāyana story in the Mahābhārata)" (Brockington, p. 340).

[101]For overviews of the influence of the Rāmāyana in Asia in general and in Mongolia and Tibet in particular, see Lokesh Chandra, "Rāmāyana, the Epic of Asia," pp. 648-52, and T. S. Damdinsüren, "Rāmāyana in Mongolia," pp. 653-59, in V. Raghavan, The Ramayana Tradition in Asia (Madras: Sahitya Akademi, 1980). Brockington, pp. 260-306, provides an even more comprehensive survey of adaptations of the Rāmāyana in other languages in Asia.

[102]The Tibetans occupied Tunhuang from the late eighth to mid ninth centuries so the manuscripts containing the Tibetan versions of the Rāmāyana presumably date to that time (Brockington, p. 264).

[103]See note above on remarks by Lama Kunga Rinpoche on Hanūman and Kailāsa.

[104]Chandra, "Rāmāyana," p. 651; Tāranātha, Gsang ba'i rnam thar, fol. 72a. Tāranātha's translation of the epic has been lost.

[105]Or, frightening wilderness, kāndāram.

[106]Mānasa generally refers to Lake Manasarovar at the foot of Kailāsa. It appears as a lake, not a mountain, in the journey to Uttarakuru in the Mahābhārata, 2.25.2. The description of it here as an 'abode of birds', a common feature of lakes and ponds in Sanskrit literature, suggests that it was originally a lake as well in the Rāmāyana.

[107]The syntax is garbled here - the sentence appears to be cut off in the middle.

[108]As the presence of brahmarsis and the variant readings, in particular 946* and 948*, confirm, the deity referred to is Brahmā, the Creator. In addition to its usual usage as a

name of Śiva, Śambhu is also a name of Brahmā and of one of the eleven Rudras (Monier Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, p. 1055).

109Or, worlds, bhutāni.

110Atman.

111Śaśisthānam - that is, Somagiri, 'the Mountain of the Moon'.

112Frank Whaling assigns the Adhyātmarāmāyana a date of composition sometime in the 15th century, more or less contemporaneous with Kabir (see Frank Whaling, The Rise of the Religious Significance of Rāma [Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1980], p. 111-14).

113Adhyātmarāmāyana, 1.1.1-58. The frame is translated in Rai Bahadur Lala Baij Nath, The Adhyatma Ramayana, Sacred Books of the Hindus, extra vol. 1 (Allahabad: Sudhīndra Nātha Vasu, 1913, AMS reprint 1974), pp. 1-3, and summarized with discussion in Whaling, Religious Significance of Rāma, pp.116-17.

114Rāmāyana, 4.42.10.

115Kalāpāvatāra, fol. 353b.

116Ibid., fol. 353b; Rāmāyana, 4.42.14.

117Kalāpāvatāra, fols. 353b-354a.

118Ibid., fol. 354b; Rāmāyana, 4.42.18.

119Kalāpāvatāra, fol. 354b; Rāmāyana, 4.42.19.

120Kalāpāvatāra, fols. 354b-355a; Rāmāyana, 4.39.39. In the Brahmānda, 2.21.110, and the Vāyu, 50.163, the Mandehas are a kind of rākṣasa who attack the rising sun and are disarmed by sandhya worship and the recititation of the Gāyatrī mantra.

121Badarī is said to lie on Kailāsa in Mahābhārata, 3.140.10, on Gandhamādana in Mahābhārata, 3.142.23. Bhīma sets out to climb Gandhamādana in 3.146.20, yet shortly thereafter, in vs. 3.151.1, he reaches his destination, a pond close to the dwelling of Kubera, on the wooded crest of Kailāsa. Kubera's dwelling is sometimes said to be on Gandhamādana, sometimes on Kailāsa.

122Kalāpāvatāra, fol. 354b.

123Śambhala'i lam yig, fol. 36b.

124Mahābhārata, 3.155.36.

125Rāmāyana, 4.42.24-27; Kalāpāvatāra, fol. 355a.

126Rāmāyana, 4.42.38 (931*).

127Śambhala'i lam yig, fol. 37b. Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes points out that Mkas grub rje explained that the river is called 'Sita' because it is white in the middle. The two Tibetan authors have evidently taken the proper name Sītā as sita, where the latter means 'white' in Sanskrit.

128Ibid.; Rāmāyana, 4.42.38 (930*).

129Ibid.

130Passages describing the two mountains appear in Kalāpāvatāra, fol. 357a, and Rāmāyana, 4.42.19-32.

131Kubera and Vaiśravaṇa are alternate names for the same deity.

132Kalāpāvatāra, fol. 357b; Rāmāyana, 4.42.30.

133Das, Tibetan-English Dictionary, p. 971. Das takes his reference not from the Śambhala'i lam yig, but from a text in the sūtra section of the Bka' 'gyur, where Maināka is mountain range inhabited by asuras and a class of women whose faces resemble those of horses.

134 According to Hopkins, any man who approaches the favorite play-grounds of the gods - Meru, Kailāsa, and Maināka - "is set upon by rākṣasas and killed for his daring" (Hopkins, Epic Mythology, p. 59).

135Rāmāyana, 1.62.4-13. A summary of the episode appears in Antoine, p. 62.

136Ibid., 4.42.37-38; Kalāpāvatāra, fol. 357b.

137Kalāpāvatāra (Sde dge edition), fol. 322b.

138The touch of the river, which is unnamed in the Rig pa 'dzin pa'i pho nya, turns one to stone. An interpolated note by someone else, possibly the person who transcribed the text,

identifies the river as the Sītā. It is crossed by means of branches that fling the messenger across it so that he flies like a bird through the air (Rig pa 'dzin pa'i pho nya, p. 42).

139 Kalāpāvatāra, fols. 358b-359a; Rāmāyana, 4.42.10-12.

140 The Pulindas are located to the northwest in the Himālaya; the Daradas are the Latin Dardae or Dards, from the region of Ladakh in the western Himālaya and the Karakoram; the Kāmbojas are sinners of the north; and the Bāhlīkas are the people of Balkh in present-day Afghanistan (See E. Washburn Hopkins, "The Epic View of the Earth," Journal of the International School of Vedic and Allied Research 1 [1930]: 67 ff.).

141 Kalāpāvatāra, fol. 360a; Rāmāyana, 4.42.53-58.

Chapter 5

Metaphoric Juxtaposition in the Development of the Mythic Journey to Śambhala

This chapter will use the concept of metaphoric juxtaposition to elucidate the underlying process governing the overall development of the mythic journey to Śambhala. As employed here, the term 'metaphoric juxtaposition' will refer to a juxtaposition of secondary phenomena arising from a root metaphor, such as that of the Buddhist mārga viewed as a path or journey. The identification or fusion of two or more primary concepts in such a metaphor gives rise to a looser association of more extended phenomena elaborated from them - for example, the stages of a particular version of the mārga and the journey to Śambhala in the Śambhala'i lam yig.[1] As a result of this secondary juxtaposition - the 'metaphoric juxtaposition' proper - we get an interaction among systems of implications associated with each of the concepts and phenomena being fused and juxtaposed - with subsequent consequences for the development of the mythic journey to Śambhala.[2] The concept of metaphoric juxtaposition, therefore, provides a means of making use of the basic relationship between myth and metaphor discussed in chapter one.[3]

The root metaphor that gives rise to the metaphoric juxtaposition governing the development of the mythic journey arises, in turn, from the the context of the journey itself. In particular, the root metaphor comes from the objective of the journey, which is supplied by the context - and which changes when that context changes. A comparative study of the contexts of the journeys to Uttarakuru and Śambhala in Hindu and Buddhist

mythology will help us to discern this process at work in the development of the theme of the mythic journey to Śambhala in India and Tibet.

1. The Journey to Uttarakuru in the Mahābhārata

The journey to Uttarakuru in the Mahābhārata is situated in the immediate context of the digvijaya or conquest of the four quarters performed by four of the Pāṇḍavas for their brother Yudhiṣṭhira. Arjuna, accompanied by an army of followers, conquers the northern quarter up to the borders of Uttarakuru, beyond which he cannot go. The digvijaya itself occurs in the larger context of the Sabhāparvan or Assembly Hall book of the Mahābhārata, a pivotal book as it sets in motion events that structure the entire epic.[4] In this chapter the conquest of the four quarters leads to the performance of the rājasūya ritual to consecrate Yudhiṣṭhira as a samrāj - a universal monarch or Hindu equivalent of the Buddhist cakravartin.[5] As a result, or part, of this ritual of consecration, the dicing match takes place in which events transpire that determine the overall course of the rest of the epic story, culminating in the great civil war between the armies of the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas.

Within the larger context of the journey, we find its objective: to conquer the world in order to perform the rājasūya ritual so that Yudhiṣṭhira can be established as a universal monarch or Hindu cakravartin. As stated in this form, the objective of the journey has three levels nested within each other:

1) the conquest of the northern quarter
2) the performance of the rājasūya rite
3) the establishment of Yudhiṣṭhira as a universal monarch.

These three levels correspond to three levels of context of the journey alluded to above -

the immediate context of the digvijaya, the intermediate context of the Sabhāparvan, and the overall context of the epic story itself. As will now be shown, through metaphoric juxtaposition, the various levels of the objective structure the journey and epic at these corresponding levels of context.

On the most immediate, or superficial, level, the objective of conquering the northern quarter structures the journey to Uttarakuru, which takes the form of a series of conquests. The epic presents each step or stage of the journey as a conquest of a region or people along the way to Uttarakuru, which Arjuna cannot conquer. The description of the journey itself focuses almost exclusively on these conquests, with scant attention paid to mountains, rivers, or other features along the way. The objective of conquering the world has supplied the root metaphor of the journey as conquest, leading to the metaphoric juxtaposition of the elaborated journey to Uttarakuru with the specific conquest of the northern quarter . This metaphoric juxtaposition has provided the structure of the journey to Uttarakuru in the Mahābhārata.

On the intermediate level, the objective of performing the rājasūya structures the Sabhāparvan. J. A. B. van Buitenen has shown how the events of the Sabhāparvan follow the principal moments of the Vedic rājasūya ritual.[6] He has pointed out, in particular, how the digvijaya of the Sabhāparvan follows the digvyāsthāpana of the rājasūya - the steps to the five directions performed by the king being consecrated in the ritual, symbolizing his conquest and sovereignty over the world.[7] Other important events in the book, including the gift offering and the crucial dicing match, also have their counterparts in the Vedic ritual. Van Buitenen proposes that "The Book of the Assembly Hall is structurally an epic dramatization of the Vedic ritual [of the rājasūya]."[8] In other words, the structure of the rājasūya has influenced, or been superimposed on, the structure of the Sabhāparvan. This is not to say that the Vedic ritual necessarily inspired the story in the Sabhāparvan, but that it shaped it. As Van Buitenen points out, "To avoid misunderstanding, I want to make it clear that I do not want to argue that 'originally' the

Sabhāparvan was just a description of the rājasūya, though certainly a number of events of the rājasūya form a central part of it. My main point will be that those responsible for the composition of the Sabhā found in the rājasūya a ready model for their composition and that they designed the book on it."[9]

Now we would argue that this superimposition of structure results from the metaphoric juxtaposition of the Sabhāparvan with the rājasūya. The pivotal event of the Sabhāparvan and the objective of the journey to Uttarakuru, the performance of the rājasūya, has given rise to the root metaphor of the book - the metaphor of epic action, or story, as ritual. This root metaphor has led to the juxtaposition of the story of the Sabhāparvan with the specific ritual of the rājasūya, resulting in the superimposition of the structure of one on the other. A special case of this metaphor, that of journey as ritual, has reflected back on the journey to Uttarakuru to give it a ritual character as well.[10] For example, Arjuna does not need actually to conquer the Uttarakurus, only to get tribute from them as a symbolic sign that he has ritually fulfilled the requirements for performing the rājasūya. He tells the guardians who stop him at the borders of the northern country, "I wish to assure the sovereignty of the wise King Dharma. I shall not enter your domain if it is forbidden to humans, but let something be given as tribute to Yudhiṣṭhira!"[11] In addition, the warning to Arjuna about the impossibility of conquering the Uttarakurus in the epic echoes the passage in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa regarding the performance of the Vedic ritual of abhiṣeka or consecration of a king in the performance of the rājasūya itself. In that passage Atyarāti Jānaṃtapi, an adviser or general of Vāsiṣṭha Sātyahavya, proposes that he conquer the northern land of Uttarakuru in order to make Vāsiṣṭha Sātyahavya a universal monarch - exactly what Arjuna tries to do for Yudhiṣṭhira. Vāsiṣṭha Sātyahavya curses him for even considering conquering the land of the gods, and he perishes as a result of his impertinence - the fate implied for Arjuna if he fails to heed the warnings of the gatekeepers at the borders of Uttarakuru.[12] Arjuna's journey can, therefore, be treated as a pilgrimage of conquest to satisfy the prerequisites for performing the sacred ritual of

the rājasūya and to fulfill his vow to Yudhiṣṭhira at the beginning of the digvijaya: "On a day, at an hour and under a star that are propitious, I shall set out to conquer the north, which is swayed by the God of Riches!"[13]

Finally, the overall objective of establishing Yudhiṣṭhira as a universal monarch structures the Mahābhārata as a whole. The epic becomes the story of the events resulting from and leading to that end. The digvijaya and rājasūya performed for that purpose set up the crucial dicing match whose outcome leads eventually to the great battle occupying the central place of the epic. We can read the Mahābhārata as the story of what happens to the Pāṇḍavas in their quest to establish Yudhiṣṭhira, the embodiment of dharma, as ruler of the world. In this context, the journey to Uttarakuru is not simply a journey of conquest, but a journey of conquest to establish the sovereignty of a universal monarch.

The concept of metaphoric juxtaposition that we have applied to the Mahābhārata and the journey to Uttarakuru is not foreign to indigenous views of the epic. Whether or not the process of metaphoric juxtaposition as outlined above inspired or shaped the original composition of the Mahābhārata, it has clearly influenced later commentaries on it, suggesting the probability of its influence on later developments of the epic itself. The writings of two important commentators - Madhva and V. S. Sukthankar - provide evidence of this influence at work in their interpretations of the creation and meaning of the Mahābhārata.

The thirteenth century philosopher Madhva discerns three levels of meaning contained in the epic. The first, and most superficial, he calls the āstika or level of historical meaning, which pertains to the external events narrated in the Mahābhārata. The second, which he terms the manvādi, is the level of religious, philosophical, and ethical meaning as reflected in the works of Manu and expressed in the discourses on these, and related, subjects in the epic. The third, and deepest, level he calls the auparicara or level of transcendent meaning. This level has to do with the invocations of the supreme deity and is associated with the kind of wisdom contained in the spiritual sections of the Vedas.

Within the overall context of these three levels, Madhva identifies various characters and events of the first level as symbols of deities, mental properties, and events of the other levels. As the incarnation of the wind god, Vāyu, Bhīma symbolizes the life breath, *prāṇa*, along with such associated properties as wisdom and piety. Duryodhana, on the other hand, as the incarnation of Kali, stands for non-wisdom. The struggles between these, and other, characters on the historical level represent conflicts between gods and demons and between mental and spiritual constituents and properties on the other two levels.[14]

Sukthankar presents a similar, but more elaborate, interpretation of the *Mahābhārata*, in which he also tries to explain the original composition of the epic. He too recognizes three levels or planes, which he calls the mundane, ethical, and metaphysical. The mundane plane concerns the explicit story of characters and events narrated on the surface of the epic, in particular the story of the struggle between the Pāṇḍavas and Kurus. The ethical plane, as its name indicates, has to do with the moral values expressed in the epic, primarily through the projection of the mundane story onto a cosmic background in which the characters become embodiments of deities and demons representing the forces of dharma and *adharma*. Finally, on the metaphysical plane, the story of the *Mahābhārata* presents teachings concerning the transcendent goal of *mokṣa* or union of the *jīvātman* with the *paramātman* as expressed in the *Upaniṣads*.[15]

Sukthankar argues that the interaction of these three planes explains not only the symbolism of the *Mahābhārata*, but its composition and structure as well. He maintains, for example, that the epic poets viewed Arjuna as an incarnation of Indra on the ethical level and as an embodiment of *nara* or the *jīvātman* on the metaphysical plane - and similarly for the other principal characters, both good and evil.[16] As a consequence, the great battle of the *Mahābhārata* on the mundane plane represents the eternal conflict between the *devas* and *asuras* embodying dharma and *adharma* on the ethical plane and the struggle of Man (*nara*) or the *jīvātman* for liberation on the metaphysical plane.

Sukthankar concludes that the underlying ethical and metaphysical planes have therefore determined the composition and structure of the epic on the mundane level. He argues, in fact, that the epic poets had these underlying planes in mind when they composed the Mahābhārata as an expression of them.[17]

Sukthankar's conclusions are, of course, debatable. It is difficult, if not impossible, to show what was in the minds of the unknown poets who composed the epic. Barend van Nooten has pointed out that Sukthankar's approach to the Mahābhārata "presumes a singular authorship, which . . . does not account satisfactorily for the striking heterogeneity of the Mahābhārata."[18] However, a juxtaposition of levels such as Sukthankar implies could well have guided the development and shaping of the epic by a number of poets who shared such an approach, particularly if it were traditional. Certainly Sukthankar's interpretation of the Mahābhārata represents a view of the epic widely shared by Indians today - and one that could have been alive at the time of its composition and development in the past. At the very least, it indicates a predisposition toward such a view in indigenous Indian traditions and should be taken into consideration in any theory about the composition and development of the Mahābhārata, particularly in its later parts.

Indeed, both Sukthankar's and Madhva's interpretations of the epic are clearly derived from, or closely related to, the traditional Hindu view of ritual as taking place simultaneously on three different levels: the adhibhautika or mundane level of the external world, the adhidaivika or divine level of the deities, and the adhyātmika or inner level of the ātman. Ritual entities and actions on one level are viewed as identical with their counterparts on the other two levels. In fire rituals, for example, the physical fire in which oblations are made is simulataneously regarded and treated as the fire god Agni and the ātman in its fiery aspects.[19] This is clearly an example of metaphoric juxtaposition in which elements of the three levels are viewed as one and the same. The identification of various phenomena in this fashion is what gives ritual its efficacy and power in traditional terms.

Sukthankar and Madhva's views and interpretations of the epic, therefore, rest implicitly on the concept of metaphoric juxtaposition inherent in ritual action. This is consistent with our analysis of the development of the Mahābhārata, in which we showed how the underlying root metaphor of epic action as ritual gave rise to the metaphoric juxtaposition that structured the Sabhāparvan as an "epic dramatization of the rājasūya ritual". We can also see a rough correspondence between Sukthankar's interpretation of the interaction of three levels of the epic in its development and our analysis of the influence of the three levels of the objective of the journey to Uttarakuru.

Our examination of the journey to Uttarakuru in relation to the development of the Mahābhārata suggests a number of possibilities with regard to the development of the journey to Śambhala. Just as we have discerned various levels within the objective of the journey to Uttarakuru, so we may find corresponding levels within that of the journey to Śambhala. In the same way as the levels of the former have structured the epic at different levels, so the levels of the latter may have structured the guidebooks to Śambhala at different levels. We have noted, in particular, how the metaphoric juxtaposition arising out of the objective of performing the rājasūya ritual has given the Sabhāparvan the structure of that very ritual. Given the overtly ritualistic nature of the later guidebooks to Śambhala, such a metaphoric juxtaposition of the journey with a particular ritual or rituals involved in its objective seems more than likely. And, as in the case of the Mahābhārata, we should expect to find a similar root metaphor giving rise to this metaphorical juxtaposition, except that in the case of the guidebooks to Śambhala that root metaphor has probably taken on the more specific form of the journey itself as ritual.

2. The Journey to Uttarakuru in the Rāmāyaṇa

The journey to Uttarakuru in the Rāmāyaṇa is situated in the immediate context of the search of the four directions for Sītā and Rāvaṇa. Sugrīva dispatches his followers to the

north, giving them directions for proceeding as far as Uttarakuru, beyond which they cannot go. Sugrīva sends his followers in search of Sītā in order to repay his debt to Rāma for killing Vālin and establishing him as king of the monkeys. As part of the overall quest of Sītā, the journey to Uttarakuru leads to her eventual discovery, in the opposite direction, to the south. As a result of this discovery, the centerpiece of the Rāmāyana takes place - the great battle between the forces of Rāma and the forces of Rāvaṇa. With the conquest of the latter, Rāma finally assumes his rightful place as king of Ayodhyā - and ruler of the world .

This brief analysis reveals a number of structural parallels with the context of the journey to Uttarakuru in the Mahābhārata. The most striking parallel is between the search of the four directions in the Rāmāyana and the digvijaya or conquest of the four quarters in the Mahābhārata. In both epics, parties are dispatched to the four directions while the beneficiaries of their efforts, Rāma and Yudhiṣṭhira, remain in the centers of mandala configurations.[20] The search for Sītā and the digvijaya both lead to the conquest of enemies who embody evil or demonic forces - the rākṣasas in the Rāmāyana and the Kauravas, who incarnate asuras, in the Mahābhārata.[21] These parallels suggest that the digvijaya of the older Mahābhārata established a pattern or model for the search of the four quarters in the Rāmāyana[22] - a pattern that may have influenced the Buddhist myth of Śambhala as well.

Within this larger context the objective of the journey to Uttarakuru in the Rāmāyana is to find Sītā in order to rescue her so that Rāma can be established as a proper husband and rightful ruler. As in the Mahābhārata, this objective has three levels nested within each other:

1) the search of the northern direction

2) the rescue of Sītā

3) the establishment of Rāma as proper husband and rightful ruler.

These three levels correspond to three levels of context of the journey in the Rāmāyana. The first level is that of the immediate context of the search of the four quarters. The second level is that of the intermediate context of the quest for Sītā in general. And the third level is that of the overall context of the epic story itself, which includes Rāma's exile and ultimate purpose.

Here again there are structural parallels with the Mahābhārata. The search of the northern direction corresponds to the conquest of the northern quarter in the older epic. The rescue and reinstatement of Sītā correspond to the performance of the rājasūya - in both, Rāma and Yudhiṣṭhira take active parts, in contrast with their passive roles in the preceding search and conquest of the four directions. Finally, the rescue of Sītā and the performance of the rājasūya lead to the establishment of rulers who embody the virtues of dharma in the sense of duty and righteousness. The Rāmāyana presents Rāma as an exemplar of dharma, especially as exemplary son and husband, while in the Mahābhārata Yudhiṣṭhira is the son of the god Dharma and is often addressed as 'Dharmarāja'. Rāma and Yudhiṣṭhira are more than universal monarchs: like the kings of Śambhala, they are dharmarājas, 'kings of dharma'.

As in the case of the Mahābhārata, the objectives of the journey to Uttarakuru structure the Rāmāyana at different levels. On the immediate level, the objective of searching for Sītā gives the journey itself the form of a series of searches. At each stage along the way, Sugrīva instructs the monkeys to "seek here and there for Rāvaṇa together with Vaidehī" - or some variant of that phrase. This structuring has arisen from the root metaphor supplied by the objective of searching for Sītā - the metaphor of the journey as search or quest. We see here another parallel with the Mahābhārata in which the objective of conquering the world in that epic led to the structuring of the journey to Uttarakuru as a series of conquests based on the root metaphor of the journey as conquest.

On the intermediate level, the objective of rescuing Sītā structures the central, and most important, part of the Rāmāyana itself. The core or kernel of the epic story is the quest for Sītā in the larger sense of finding and rescuing her. This includes, of course, the great battle between the forces of Rāma and Rāvaṇa, which the rescue of Sītā entails. Although we are not dealing here with an explicit juxtaposition with a specific ritual like the rājasūya, as in the Mahābhārata, such a juxtaposition is implied by later answers to the question of why Rāma must grieve for Sītā and seek her if he is, after all, the supreme Self. The answer suggested by the Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa - that Rāma does what he does as kind of play for the benefit of his devotees - implies that the quest for Sītā is at some deeper level meant as a ritual performed for the benefit of those participating and watching. Knowing that the real Sītā has not been kidnapped, only an illusory one he has substituted for her, Rāma decides to feign grief to Lakṣmaṇa and thinks to himself:

> If I grieve over Sītā, burning with sorrow like an ordinary person, then by gradually searching for her I shall reach the abode of the asuras. There having killed Rāvaṇa with his family, I shall bring out Sītā, who was placed by me in the fire, and carefully go to Ayodhyā. I have become born as man at the prayer of Brahmā. Having assumed human form I shall for some time live upon the earth. Therefore do you listen to my actions done under the influence of Māyā. Thereby you will easily attain to emancipation by following the path of devotion.[23]

The rescue of Sītā certainly has a ritual function or dimension in the Vālmīki Rāmāyana as evidenced by Rāma's reason for rejecting her after the rescue, except here the ritual function is much closer that of the performance of the rājasūya in the Mahābhārata - namely to establish Rāma's credentials as rightful ruler in the eyes of his people.[24]

Finally, the objective of establishing Rāma as proper husband and rightful ruler structures the Rāmāyana as a whole. The overall story of the epic is the story of events

leading to that end, from the reasons for his exile at the beginning to the establishment of his rule, the rāmarājya, characterized by the reign of dharma as a result of his having killed Rāvaṇa and rid the world of evil. While not a major episode in the Rāmāyaṇa, the journey to Uttarakuru, therefore, carries within it the factors responsible for governing the development of the entire epic.

Unlike the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa has given rise to a number of major successive versions. This section will examine the role of metaphoric juxtaposition in the development of three of these versions: the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, dating from between the fourth century B.C. and the fourth century A.D.; the Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa, dating from the fifteenth century; and the Rāmaçaritamānas of Tulsī Dās, dating from the late sixteenth century.[25] Although not focused specifically on the journey to Uttarakuru, this study will prove useful in highlighting similar processes at work in the development of the mythic journey to Śambhala as seen in successive guidebooks to the hidden kingdom.

As a point of departure, we will draw on Frank Whaling's analysis of these three versions of the Rāmāyaṇa in his study of the evolution of Rāma as symbol in Indian religion. According to Whaling, in the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa the epic is primarily a vehicle for exhibiting exemplary conduct. Rāma is viewed principally as the ideal man, the embodiment of dharma as duty. His role as an avatar of Viṣṇu is present, but neither emphasized nor developed. The epic remains, therefore, primarily on the ethical level of dharma, focused on actions in the mundane world. Doctrinal and devotional aspects remain in the background, waiting for development in the later versions of the Rāmāyaṇa.[26]

The overwhelming concern with Rāma as the exemplar or embodiment of dharma in the mundane world of action reveals itself in various aspects of the quest for Sītā. Unlike the later versions of the epic, the real Sītā is kidnapped by Rāvaṇa in the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa. The search for and rescue of her are, accordingly, real for Rāma, who must perform them as part of his dharma or duty as husband and king. After her rescue, Sītā

has to enter the fire to prove her fidelity, thereby demonstrating that she has followed the dharma of a perfect wife, fit to be Rāma's spouse and queen. However, since she is still perceived as having been violated by Rāvaṇa, she must be unhappily separated from Rāma at the end of the epic: otherwise, the perception of him as king of dharma will be irretrievably damaged - a perception of him that cannot be impaired if he is to function as the exemplar or embodiment of dharma itself.

In the Adhyātma Rāmāyana the epic becomes a vehicle for expressing doctrine and devotion. Rāma is viewed primarily as supreme ātman and devotional lord, transcending even Viṣṇu himself. His roles as avatar and man are still present, but muted. The epic therefore moves toward the metaphysical level of primary concern with mokṣa or release. Doctrinal and devotional aspects directed toward that end come to the fore. The Adhyātma Rāmāyana focuses on the exposition of Advaita Vedanta doctrines in which Rāma is seen ultimately as nirguna brahman - ultimate reality beyond all attributes. However, at the same time, it also extols the virtues of devotion to Rāma as a primary means of attaining mokṣa. The episodes of the epic, therefore, become occasions for expressing doctrine and devotion. The various characters of the story, aside from Rāma, are viewed primarily as devotees of Rāma and as incarnations of various deities, whose attributes and virtues - or vices, in the case of demons - they embody.[27]

The shift toward viewing Rāma primarily as supreme ātman and devotional lord is reflected in various significant changes in the character of the quest for Sītā. The real Sītā is replaced by a māyā or shadow Sītā, who is actually kidnapped by Rāvaṇa, since Sītā as Lakṣmī cannot be truly violated by the demon - nor can Rāma as supreme ātman be touched by his actions. The subsequent search for and rescue of Sītā are, therefore, not real for Rāma, who simply performs them as a play for the benefit of his audience, since reading or hearing the epic has itself become a means of liberation for his devotees. We see here a similarity to Mahāyāna versions of the life of the Buddha, which is also viewed as a play performed for the benefit of others.[28] After her rescue, the shadow Sītā enters

the fire apparently to prove her fidelity to Rāma, but in fact to allow the real Sītā to emerge and take her place. At the end of the Adhyātma Rāmāyana, Sītā is separated from Rāma since dharmic appearances must be preserved, but neither grieves since both know it is only a play.[29]

In the Rāmacaritamānas, Tulsī Dās molds the epic into a vehicle for expressing and encouraging devotion to Rāma as the highest form of religious practice. Whereas the Vālmīki Rāmāyana and Adhyātma Rāmāyana emphasize views of Rāma as exemplary hero and nirguna brahman respectively, the Rāmacaritamānas regards him above all as devotional lord endowed with attributes of both man and ultimate reality. The other two views are retained, but they remain subsidiary. As Whaling puts it,"Tulsī Dās, as it were, synthesises the two extremes represented by Vāl. and the Adhyātma Rāmāyana."[30] The epic, therefore, moves from the ethical and metaphysical levels of dharma and moksa to the devotional level of bhakti. Service to Rāma, which is ethical in nature, becomes the highest expression of devotion, which transcends even moksa itself. Accordingly, various episodes of the epic become opportunities for serving Rāma. The characters are viewed as incarnations of deities, but their roles as devotees receive greater emphasis - even the demons, despite and through their actions, become devotees of Rāma and recipients of his grace.[31]

The primary view of Rāma as devotional lord has a marked influence on the character of the quest for Sītā. As in the Adhyātma Rāmāyana, a māyā or shadow Sītā replaces the real Sītā, but she often appears and acts as though she were the real one, in keeping with the more human roles of Rāma and Sītā in the Rāmacaritamānas. The search for and rescue of Sītā appear more real for Rāma than they do in the Adhyātma Rāmāyana: he evinces a more realistic grief for her loss. In addition, the search and rescue are performed not so much as a play for the benefit of an audience, but as an opportunity for the monkeys to express devotion through service to Rāma as devotional lord. In dispatching his

subjects to the four quarters, Sugrīva delivers the following exhortation:

> . . . ask every one for news of Sītā. Strain every faculty to devise some way of accomplishing Rāma's object. The sun is content with back service and the fire with front, but a master must be served back and front alike, without any subterfuges. Discard the unrealities of the world and consider the future; so shall all the troubles connected with existence be destroyed. This is the end, brother, for which we were born, to worship Rāma without any desire for self.[32]

Sugrīva's attitude has shifted markedly from that in the Vālmīki Rāmāyana, where he simply dispatches the monkeys on the quest in order to repay his debt to Rāma and thereby fulfill his dharmic obligations. As in the Adhyātma Rāmāyana, the shadow Sītā enters the fire so that the real Sītā can emerge. However, in a striking departure from the earlier two versions of the epic, Rāma and Sītā are not separated at the end. This change reflects the primary concern with the level of bhakti since the aim of the devotee, represented in Sītā, is never to be separated from the object of his or her adoration, Rāma. The happy ending also reflects the reward of unflagging devotion expressed in the acknowledged fidelity of Sītā as wife.[33]

Whaling explains the transformations of the epic in its three successive versions as a consequence of the development or "opening up" of Rāma as a religious symbol. The symbolism latent, but undeveloped, in the Vālmīki Rāmāyana gradually unfolds in the Adhyātma Rāmāyana and Rāmacaritamānas. This occurs as Rāma becomes the object of religious worship in Indian society.[34] We would explain the transformations of the epic differently, as the consequence of successive metaphoric juxtapositions arising from successive views of Rāma himself. In the Vālmīki Rāmāyana, Rāma is viewed primarily as the exemplary hero; in the Adhyātma Rāmāyana, as the supreme ātman or nirguna

brahman; and in the Rāmacaritamānas, as devotional lord. These different views of Rāma lead to secondary juxtapositions of various characters and features of the epic with different ideas, deities, and so forth as noted above, thereby awakening their potential for elaboration as symbols. This analysis or approach to the development of the epic is truer to the actual experience of religious practitioners, who do not see Rāma as symbol of something else, but as that very something else, whether exemplary hero, nirguna brahman, or personal God.

The role of metaphoric juxtaposition in the development of the Rāmāyana suggests that a series or succession of different metaphoric juxtapositions may have also influenced the development of the mythic journey to Śambhala in Buddhist mythology, not only over time, but at various levels within the fully developed version found in the Kalāpāvatāra and Śambhala'i lam yig. At the same time, just as various features of the Rāmāyana have opened as symbols, so various features of the journey to Śambhala may have unfolded in a similar way under the influence of these metaphoric juxtapositions. However, we should remark here that the phenomena juxtaposed in the Hindu epic and in the Buddhist myth are quite different in nature, helping to account for the transformations undergone by the features of the former appropriated in the latter.

3. The Journey to Śambhala

Tibetan tradition situates the journey to Śambhala in the context of journeys to the five great places of pilgrimage located at the five principal points of the compass. The five sites are associated with five major figures or deities of Tibetan Buddhism: the vajrāsana at Bodhgaya, the site of the Buddha's enlightenment, in the center; Wu T'ai Shan, the five-peaked mountain of Mañjuśrī, to the east; the Potala or Potalaka Mountain, the residence of Avalokiteśvara, in the south; Uḍḍiyana, the birthplace of Padma Sambhava and land of the ḍākinīs, to the west; and Śambhala, the realm of the Kālacakra, to the north.[35] Klong rdol

bla ma singles out Śambhala and Uḍḍiyana as places of knowledge-holders - human knowledge-holders in the case of the former, ḍākinīs in the case of the latter.[36]

The journey to Śambhala was put into this context in a later development of the myth that took place in Tibet: we find no reference to the five great places of pilgrimage in the Kālacakratantrāja, Vimalaprabhā, or Kalāpāvatāra - the major Indian sources. Śambhala first appears in a description of journeys to five directions in Man lung pa's guidebook, composed in the thirteenth century. However, except for the journey to Śambhala, these journeys are not directed toward the five great places of pilgrimage: the description of the center, for example, deals not with Bodhgaya, but with the region of the author's birthplace in Tibet.[37] The specific context of the five great places of pilgrimage emerges later in works by authors such as Stag tshang lo tsā ba in the fifteenth century and Klong rdol bla ma in the eighteenth century.[38] It is interesting to note, however, that the first stage in the development of this context coincides with the appearance of the eight-petaled lotus blossom shape of Śambhala - both appear for the first time in Man lung pa's guidebook and both are based on the underlying pattern of a maṇḍala.

We find a number of structural parallels with the contexts of the journeys to Uttarakuru in the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyana. All three journeys - one to Śambhala, the other two to Uttarakuru - are situated in maṇḍala configurations of journeys to the four directions. Moreover the center of each maṇḍala is associated, appropriately enough, with an actual or symbolic consecration. In the case of the two epics, Yudhiṣṭhira and Rāma are actually consecrated as kings at the central points, Hāstinapura and Ayodhyā respectively; in the case of the journey to Śambhala, the central pilgrimage site of Bodhgaya, as the place where all Buddhas attain complete enlightenment, is the site of religious consecration or initiation par excellence - the vajrāsana symbolized explicitly or implicitly in Buddhist maṇḍalas used in abhiṣeka ceremonies.[39]

In addition, all three mandala configurations are skewed in favor of the northern direction - the direction of the journeys to Uttarakuru and Śambhala. In the Mahābhārata,

the northern quarter is the only one whose limit cannot be conquered - Arjuna must turn back at the borders of Uttarakuru, beyond which mortals cannot go. In the Rāmāyana, the northern quarter is the only one whose limit cannot be attained by the gods - beyond Uttarakuru lies Somagiri, of which the epic says, "That indeed is [the mountain] named Somagiri, impassable even for the devas."[40] The limit has been pushed beyond Uttarakuru and made even more inaccessible than in the Mahābhārata. In the Buddhist myth of Śambhala, the northern quarter is the only one that cannot be completely conquered by the mlecchas, for Śambhala lies there beyond their reach. The skewing of the mandala configurations toward the north, reflects the significance of the north as a particularly sacred direction, the role of whose symbolism we will examine later in this chapter.

The context of journeys to the five great places of pilgrimage provides the objective of the mythic journey to Śambhala: to obtain teachings and blessings in order to practice and make use of them so that one can attain complete enlightenment (i.e. become a Buddha) for the sake of all beings. As in the case of the journeys to Uttarakuru in the epics, the objective of this journey has three levels nested within each other:

1) the aquisition of teachings and blessings
2) the practice and use of the teachings and blessings
3) the attainment of complete enlightenment for the sake of all beings.

The teachings constituting the first level of the objective contain the seeds of the other two levels. These teachings consist primarily of instructions for performing sādhanas or rituals of meditation whose practice constitutes the second level of the objective of the journey to Śambhala. The ultimate purpose of performing the sādhanas, in turn, is to use them as a means of following the mārga or path leading to Buddhahood and complete enlightenment for the sake of all beings - the third level of the objective.

We find a number of structural parallels with the objectives of the journey to Uttarakuru in the Hindu epics. The first level of obtaining teachings and blessings corresponds to the first level of conquering the world in the Mahābhārata and searching for Sītā in the Rāmāyaṇa. The second level of practicing and making use of the teachings and blessings corresponds to the second level of performing the rājasūya in the Mahābhārata and rescuing Sītā in the Rāmāyaṇa. With reference to the Mahābhārata, the objectives of the journeys to Uttarakuru and Śambhala at this level both involve the performance or practice of rituals. Finally, the third level of becoming a Buddha for the sake of all beings corresponds to the third level of establishing Yudhiṣṭhira and Rāma as universal monarchs in the two epics. Just as their realms are characterized by the dharma of righteousness in Hindu terms, so the field or realm of a Buddha is characterized by the dharma of liberation or enlightenment in a Buddhist sense.

The three levels of the objective structure the journey to Śambhala in various ways. First, they structure the journey at different stages of its development in Tibet, and second, they structure different levels of the fully developed journey itself, as seen in the Kalāpāvatāra and Śambhala'i lam yig.

The guidebooks at our disposal reveal three stages of development that correspond roughly to the three levels of objective noted above. In the first stage, represented in Man lung pa's guidebook and the accounts of journeys by Indian pandits, one goes to Śambhala simply to go there or else to obtain teachings - the first level of the objective. Man lung pa's guidebook has the beginnings of an extended description of the journey to Śambhala, but lacking a higher purpose, it has an ordinary nature without any mythic dimension revealing a deeper view of reality. The accounts of the Indian pandits, on the other hand, do have such a purpose and involve some magical incidents on the way to the kingdom, but the emphasis is entirely on obtaining the Kālacakra Tantra and bringing it back to India so that the journey itself receives little attention and consequently not enough elaboration to make it mythic in any significant sense.

In the second stage of development, the guidebooks take on a mythic nature: they combine the sort of extended description found in Man lung pa's guidebook with the kind of higher purpose exemplified in the accounts of the Indian pandits. The journeys they describe become elaborated means of putting into practice the teachings sought in the kingdom itself. This stage corresponds, therefore, to the second level of the objective - that of practicing and making use of the teachings and blessings kept in Śambhala. We find it represented in the Kalāpāvatāra and Śambhala'i lam yig, where the traveller, now referred to as a sādhaka or practitioner, performs rituals and meditation on the way to Śambhala. At this stage the objective of practicing teachings at the destination or goal has reflected back on the journey itself, transforming it into a form of practice.

Finally, at the third stage, the journey becomes a means of becoming a Buddha, that is, of following the mārga or path to enlightenment. This stage corresponds to the third level of the objective - that of becoming a Buddha or attaining complete enlightenment for the sake of all beings. We find it represented implicitly, or secondarily, in the Kalāpāvatāra and Śambhala'i lam yig. In those texts the sādhaka develops spiritually in the direction of Buddhahood as he advances toward Śambhala.

Each stage includes the stages preceding it. The journey as a means of practice in the Kalāpāvatāra, for example, is also a quest to obtain teachings. And the journey as a means of attaining enlightenment in this text remains at the same time a means of practicing and obtaining teachings. We find the successive stages of development of the journey to Śambhala represented as levels within the most developed versions of the mythic journey represented in the Kalāpāvatāra and Śambhala'i lam yig. We will, therefore, focus on these texts in our study of the role of metaphoric juxtaposition in the development of the journey to Śambhala.

The first level of the objective, that of obtaining teachings, supplies the root metaphor of the journey as quest - in this case, the quest for the teachings kept in Śambhala. The discussion in the introductory section, or frame, of the Kalāpāvatāra makes it clear that the

journey to Kalāpa is being viewed as such a quest - for a place in the future where true guidance can be found. The root metaphor of journey as quest has given rise to the juxtaposition of journeys to Kalāpa and Kailāsa with the search for a distant sanctuary beyond the reach of the false teachings and teachers prophesied to take over India. This has led to the elaboration of these relatively short journeys into the long and involved physical journey to just such a sanctuary in the Kalāpāvatāra. In general the idea of a quest involves the overcoming of great hardships and obstacles[41] - and the journey to Śambhala shaped by the root metaphor of the journey as quest is no exception.

The physical journey to Śambhala arising from this root metaphor has been further structured by metaphoric juxtapositions engendered by additional root metaphors supplied by the deeper levels of the objective. We now turn to the next of these - the root metaphor of the journey as sādhana.

The second level of the objective, that of practicing teachings, supplies the root metaphor of the journey as sādhana. The practice of the kind of teachings kept in Śambhala, those of the Vajrayāna, generally takes the form of sādhanas.[42] The Tibetan translation of this term establishes the link with the idea of a journey involved in the root metaphor. Sādhana in Sanskrit, taken from the verbal root sādh, 'to accomplish', means literally 'the accomplishing'. Tibetans translate this term as sgrub thabs, meaning literally 'the means or way of accomplishing'. The Tibetan translation draws out or highlights the concept of means or way inherent in the Sanskrit. So in the Tibetan context sādhana can easily be equated with the idea of journey as a way to the goal of accomplishment, thereby providing the root metaphor of journey as sādhana.[43] Of course, the same is true in the Sanskrit context, but it is not quite as explicit.

Now sādhana as a means or way of accomplishing can be taken in two different ways: as referring either to a specific ritual session in which the sādhaka invokes a particular deity and applies that deity's power for a particular end or else to a whole course of practice involving a series of repeated ritual sessions. The root metaphor of the journey

as sādhana has led to the juxtaposition of the journey to Śambhala with the elaborated concept of sādhana interpreted in these two ways. In the first, the journey to Śambhala is viewed as a series of individual sādhanas. In the second, the journey to Śambhala as a whole is regarded as itself a sādhana.

The Kalāpāvatāra and Śambhala'i lam yig certainly present the journey to Śambhala as a series of sādhanas in the first sense of the term. As the sādhaka journeys toward Śambhala, he repeatedly performs rituals in which he invokes particular deities and demons and applies their powers as means of overcoming the obstacles on the way to Kalāpa. The course of the journey in these texts can be outlined by simply listing the sādhanas performed in the order of their performance: the preliminary mantras and fire offerings to Mañjuśrī, Yamāntaka, and Amṛtakuṇḍalin; the offerings, rectitation of mantras, and circumambulation at Bodhgaya and the stūpa of Kanakamuni; the sādhana invoking Mārīcī at Kakāri, performed so the sādhaka will not suffer from hunger and thirst and will have the power to overcome obstacles ahead; the invocation and subjugation of the two rākṣasīs for sustenance in the desert and the power to cross the River Sītā; and so forth. These sādhanas distinguish the version of the journey to Śambhala in the Kalāpāvatāra and Śambhala'i lam yig from the versions in earlier texts that lack a mythic nature or dimension. Their presence in the later guidebooks, therefore, reflects an important aspect of the development of the mythic journey.

The series of sādhanas performed by the sādhaka result in his attainment of various siddhis on the way to Śambhala. For example, at the end of his pūjā to Ekajaṭī, the sādhaka receives the wisdom that penetrates to a knowledge of all things.[44] This attainment of siddhis on the way to Śambhala suggests the second juxtaposition noted above in which the journey itself is viewed as a sādhana in the sense of a whole course of ritual practice. Here, the term sādhana refers to the practice of a teaching as a means of accomplishing the goal of that teaching.

Sādhanas in this wider sense of the term tend to have the following structure composed of four successive stages:

1) preliminary practices and qualifications
2) prior service to the deity
3) specific ritual sessions
4) attainment of siddhi.

The first two stages consist of preliminary practices that give the sādhaka the power and ability to carry out the third, or main, stage of ritual sessions, which eventually result in the attainment of siddhi, the goal of the entire course of practice.[45]

If we look over the journey to Śambhala presented in the Kalāpāvatāra and Śambhala'i lam yig, we find this structure imposed on it. In the Kalāpāvatāra, the instructions for the journey proper begin with a list of prerequisites that corresponds to the first stage of a sādhana, that of preliminary practices and qualifications. The sādhaka must, among other things, be situated on the right path, have produced the unsurpassed bodhicitta, be consecrated into the mandala, and so forth. He is then instructed to please his chosen deity,[46] corresponding exactly to the second stage of sādhana, that of performing prior service or sevā. The Śambhala'i lam yig specifies, in fact, that the sādhaka should perform sevā to the deity.[47] Just as in a formally established sādhana, he must receive a dream or other sign from the deity indicating that he has the power and permission to proceed - in this case, to Śambhala. As noted above, the journey consists in large part of a series of rituals invoking various deities and demons along the way to the kingdom. The main body of the journey, therefore, corresponds to the third stage of sādhana, that of specific ritual sessions. Finally, at the end of the journey, the sādhaka receives the siddhis he desires, including the highest ones, from the king at Kalāpa.

Reaching Śambhala at the end of the journey, therefore, corresponds to the fourth stage - the attainment of siddhi at the end of the course of sādhana.

A couple of important features in the Kalāpāvatāra and Śambhala'i lam yig reinforce the juxtaposition of the journey to Śambhala with the performance of a sādhana. Both texts refer to the person going to Kalāpa as a sādhaka. This implies that the journey itself is viewed as the sādhana he performs. In addition, the actual title of the Śambhala'i lam yig refers to Śambhala as grub pa'i gnas chen po, meaning either "the great place of accomplishment" or "the great place of those who are accomplished".[48] In either case, the text implicitly equates the end of the journey to Śambhala with the attainment of the goal of a sādhana.

In this regard, the kind of sādhana or sādhanas juxtaposed with the journey to Śambhala is also significant. The specific sādhanas employed along the way to the kingdom all pertain to the utpanna krama or arising stage of practice, involving the visualization of and identification with a deity. They do not belong to the sampanna krama stage that involves the higher practices of manipulating prāṇas, bindus, nāḍīs, and so forth. The Kalāpāvatāra specifically states that there is another way for more advanced yogins involving precisely those kinds of practices.[49] The sādhanas it does prescribe, such as the painting of images and the making of offerings, pertain to the lower kriyā, caryā, and yoga tantra classes. The kind of sādhana juxtaposed with the journey to Śambhala is, therefore, not of the anuttarayoga class, which emphasizes the sampanna krama stage.[50] In particular, contrary to what one might expect, the sādhanas prescribed in the Kalāpāvatāra and Śambhala'i lam yig have nothing to do with the Kālacakra Tantra so closely associated with the myth of Śambhala.

Like the sādhanas of the lower tantra classes, those associated with the journey to Śambhala are used for magical as well as spiritual ends. They reflect the nature of sādhana in general as a means or way of accomplishing. A sādhana can be directed toward mundane siddhis, such as the attainment of the magical power to subjugate others, or it can

be directed toward transcendent siddhis, such as the attainment of enlightenment in order to benefit all sentient beings. In the Vajrayāna teachings associated with Śambhala, the Buddhist mārga is generally implemented through sādhanas when those sādhanas are directed toward the transcendent ends. It is important to note for our purposes that sādhana is not necessarily associated with the mārga or path to enlightenment. It is definitely not so associated when it is primarily directed toward mundane ends, such as the acquisition of wealth and power, although, in the Vajrayāna, such ends can be incorporated into the mārga. In the earlier stage of development of the mythic journey reflected in the prose sections of the Kalāpāvatāra, many of the specific sādhanas would appear to have predominantly mundane or magical ends. The later verse interpolations generally have the function of redirecting these sādhanas toward transcendent ends - or of making those ends more explicit. They serve to focus the sādhaka's attention, as well as that of the reader, on the higher aim of reaching Kalāpa in order to attain enlightenment for the benefit of others. They therefore reflect a later stage of development of the journey to Śambhala in which the third level of the objective becomes increasingly influential.

The third level of the objective, that of becoming a Buddha or attaining enlightenment for the sake of all beings, supplies the additional root metaphor of the journey as mārga. In Buddhism in general, Vajrayāna as well as Hinayāna and Mahāyāna, becoming a Buddha or attaining enlightenment takes the form of following the mārga, the path to Buddhahood. The root metaphor of the journey as mārga is inherent in the very word itself, which means literally 'path or road'. The process of becoming a Buddha is, therefore, already viewed in Buddhism as a journey along the mārga, making it a natural step to view any specific journey, the journey to Śambhala in particular, as a metaphoric expression of that process. This root metaphor, which to a great degree defines Buddhism itself, has led to the juxtaposition of the journey to Śambhala with the concept of the mārga in two ways: first the journey to Śambhala has been juxtaposed with the idea of the mārga in general, and second, it has been juxtaposed with a specific conception of that mārga.

There is considerable evidence for the juxtaposition of the journey to Śambhala with the idea of the mārga in general. In this usage of the word, the term mārga refers to a generalized conception of the spiritual path leading from the ordinary human condition to the enlightenment of a Buddha. A number of features of the journey to Śambhala in the Kalāpāvatāra and Śambhala'i lam yig reflect the influence of a juxtaposition with this conception of the mārga. The questions and discourse in the introductory frame of the Kalāpāvatāra set the journey to Śambhala squarely in the context of going to the kingdom in order to attain enlightenment for the sake of all beings. According to Ārya Amoghāṅkuśa, the journey will become a necessity in order to pursue the true path leading to Buddhahood since deceptive teachings and teachers will make it impossible to follow that path in India.[51] The opposition between India in the future as the land of delusion and Śambhala as the realm of enlightenment - or the only place holding the possibility of enlightenment - implicitly equates India with the start of the mārga and Śambhala with its end. The starting point of the journey proper, the vajrāsana at Bodhgaya, reinforces associations of the overall journey to Śambhala with the Buddhist mārga by suggesting that that journey will lead to an attainment of the enlightenment experienced by all the Tathāgatas at that place. The sādhaka's repeated statement that he is going to Kalāpa for the sake of all beings puts the journey to Śambhala into juxtaposition with the generalized conception of the mārga as the progressive fulfillment of the bodhisattva vow to attain enlightenment for the sake of all beings. In addition, the sādhaka actually acquires the kind of powers and makes the kind of spiritual progress on the way to Śambhala that he would in following the Buddhist path to enlightenment. In particular, he receives from the king at Kalāpa the kind of transcendent siddhis associated with attaining the goal of the mārga itself - those that will enable him to act for the benefit and happiness of numerous beings in Jambudvīpa.[52]

As noted in chapter 3, the later verse interpolations of the Kalāpāvatāra tend to act as commentaries drawing out or highlighting the spiritual aspects of the journey to Śambhala.

In that respect, they reflect the growing influence of the juxtaposition of the journey to Śambhala with the generalized conception of mārga in which that juxtaposition becomes increasingly explicit. This would have occurred at a relatively late stage of development of the mythic journey in India, corresponding to the period at which the verse sections were added to the text.

We also find evidence, although not as strong, that the journey to Śambhala has been juxtaposed with a more specific version of the mārga - that of the standard Buddhist mārga of five successive paths or divisions. This version of the mārga, as expounded in the influential Abhisamayālamkāra, consists of the following well-known stages:

1) the sambhāra mārga or path of accumulation
2) the prayoga mārga or path of preparation
3) the darśana mārga or path of vision
4) the bhāvanā mārga or path of development
5) the aśaiksa mārga or path beyond learning.[53]

As E. Obermeyer and Th. Stcherbatsky have pointed out, the exposition of the mārga in the Abhisamayālamkāra has dominated Tibetan thinking on the subject - and Indian Mahāyāna thought as well.[54] We should, therefore, expect this version of the path to enlightenment to have influenced the development of the journey to Śambhala, if only as a background influence.

The five stages of the mārga as outlined above can be seen reflected in the structure of the journey to Śambhala in the Kalāpāvatāra and Śambhala'i lam yig. In the former text Ārya Amoghāṅkuśa begins his description of the journey proper by listing the qualifications needed to embark on it: the sādhaka must be situated on the right path, have produced the bodhicitta, been consecrated into the mandala, and so forth. The acquisition of these prerequisites for taking the journey to Śambhala corresponds to the path of

accumulation in which the practitioner accumulates what he needs to embark on the m̄arga proper. The sādhaka must then get permission from his tutelary deity and perform rituals dedicated to Mañjuśrī, Yamāntaka, and Amṛtakuṇḍalin. These preparatory rituals and service to the tutelary deity give him the power and permission needed to make the journey to Śambhala. They correspond, therefore, to the second stage of the mārga, the path of preparation. The journey proper begins with visits to the vajrāsana at Bodhgaya and the stūpa of Kanakamuni on the island in the western ocean. At this stage of the journey, the sādhaka travels in a western direction and focuses his attention on shrines of Buddhas embodying enlightenment and the knowledge of reality itself. We can see here a correspondence with the third stage of the mārga, the path of vision, in which the practitioner gains "the full and direct intuition of of the four Truths or Principles of the Saint".[55] The sādhaka then returns to land and journeys north to Śambhala itself. In this, the major part of the journey, the sādhaka performs numerous rituals and meditations in which he develops various spiritual powers and makes progress toward enlightenment. This part can, therefore, be seen to correspond to the fourth stage of the mārga, the path of development, in which the practitioner practices meditation[56] and makes a corresponding progress toward enlightenment. The path of development also occupies a major part of the mārga, just as the northern land journey occupies a major part of the overall journey to Śambhala. Finally, the attainment of transcendent siddhis at the end of the journey in Kalāpa corresponds to the attainment of the path beyond learning, the fifth and final stage of the standard mārga.

This correlation between the stages of the journey to Śambhala and the paths or stages of the mārga is structural, not actual. Reaching Kalāpa is structurally equivalent to attaining the path beyond learning, but it does not mean that the sādhaka actually attains that path at that stage of his journey. Clearly he must go on to practice meditation in Śambhala in order to attain the ultimate goal of becoming a Buddha for the sake of all beings.

Evidence for the juxtaposition of the journey to Śambhala with the five paths of the standard <u>mārga</u> is not as strong or obvious as it is for juxtaposition with a generalized conception of the <u>mārga</u>. However, there is a precedent for such a juxtaposition in Tsong kha pa's correlation of the five-path <u>mārga</u> with a person's life-and-death cycle and with the process of generation[57] involved in the performance of a typical <u>sādhana</u>. Following Abhayākaragupta, a well-known scholar of the Vajrayāna tradition in India,[58] he makes the following correspondences, as set out in this abbreviated version of a table from <u>The Cult of Tārā</u> by Stephan Beyer:

<u>Life Cycle</u>	<u>Generation</u>	<u>Path</u>
karma	stocks	accumulation
death	suchness	
parents	moon	preparation
embryo	emblem	
bardo-being	seed	vision development
birth	body	beyond learning[59]

The entries of the first and third columns are self-explanatory. The entries of the second column refer to successive stages or events in the process of generating the divine body of the deity visualized in a <u>sādhana</u>.

Tsong kha pa's correlation of stages of the life cycle with the five paths of the standard <u>mārga</u> indicates a tendency in Vajrayāna Buddhism to juxtapose that version of

the mārga with various other, more concrete, phenomena, such as a journey to an earthly paradise like Śambhala. Tsong kha pa's correlation, like the one we have noted in the case of the journey to Śambhala, is structural, rather than actual: taking birth is not the same as reaching the path beyond learning, i.e. attaining Buddhahood. In correlating the process of generation and the five paths of the mārga with the life cycle, Tsong kha pa is also, by implication, juxtaposing the first two with each other. In the case of the journey to Śambhala, such a juxtaposition has a number of interesting consequences in terms of the interplay of sādhana and mārga on the way to Śambhala.

As a result of the process of metaphoric juxtaposition examined here, various features of the journey to Śambhala have had a reciprocal influence on the conceptions of sādhana and mārga expressed in the Kalāpāvatāra and Śambhala'i lam yig. In particular, the journey as a series of obstacles, both physical and supernatural, to be overcome by the sādhaka has highlighted a view or conception of the mārga as a series of equivalent obstacles to be overcome by the practitioner - obstacles such as ignorance, delusion, passions, and so forth. In the context of juxtaposition with the journey to Śambhala, this overcoming of obstacles, both physical and spiritual, is accomplished through a series of sādhanas taking the predominant form of rituals of subjugation, emphasizing that aspect of both sādhana and mārga in general. In addition, juxtaposition with the journey to Śambhala has highlighted the reverse direction of the root metaphors, bringing out the nature of ritual as a journey leading through a series of steps to a particular destination or goal.[60]

The juxtaposition of sādhana and mārga arising out of their individual juxtapositions with the journey to Śambhala has had a number of secondary effects. It has reinforced the juxtaposition of the conception of sādhana with the journey to Śambhala since the concept of journey is so integral to the idea of the mārga itself. At the same time, it has provided a means for juxtaposing the conception of the mārga with the journey to Śambhala through the intermediary or filter of the concept of sādhana in general: as we have seen, the

juxtaposition of sādhana with the journey to Śambhala is much more direct and explicit. In addition, and perhaps more significantly, the view of sādhana presented in the Kalāpāvatāra has taken on the more spiritual nature of the mārga, emphasizing the attainment of transcendent siddhis at the end of the journey in Kalāpa. As the sādhaka's repeated statements of intent and the verse interpolations make clear, various sādhanas of a basically mundane, magical nature on the journey to Śambhala have been redirected toward helping him reach Kalāpa in order to attain enlightenment for the sake of all beings. On the other hand, the view of the mārga presented in the text has taken on the more worldly nature of a sādhana, emphasizing the attainment of enlightenment through mundane, magical means. We might say that the interplay of sādhana and mārga in the journey to Śambhala has served to sacralize the former and secularize the latter, thereby helping to accomplish a fundamental aim of Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna Buddhism -the aim of overcoming the duality between the sacred and the profane, illusion and reality, nirvāna and samsāra.

Metaphoric juxtaposition with various conceptions of sādhana and mārga has allowed the journey to Śambhala to take on a mythic nature by providing a means for it to express the progressively deeper views of reality and man's relation to it embodied in the teachings they serve to implement. A comparison of the treatment of the journey in Man lung pa's guidebook with that in the Kalāpāvatāra and Śambhala'i lam yig reveals the importance of this function of metaphoric juxtaposition in the development of the mythic journey to Śambhala.

Man lung pa's guidebook describes in prosaic fashion a straightforward journey to the kingdom that a caravan of merchants could easily follow. The description of the journey itself reflects no deeper view of reality that would give it a mythic nature. In particular, it shows no trace of juxtaposition with any conceptions of sādhana or mārga. It lacks any reference to an objective that would have given rise to such juxtapositions. At no point does Man lung pa state that one should go to Śambhala to obtain teachings, much

less to practice them as a means of implementing the mārga. The objective of the journey as stated is simply to go there if one should so desire in the future.[61] As a consequence, the journey appears in a prosaic form lacking the kind of supernatural and spiritual features characterizing the mythic version of the journey found in the Kalāpāvatāra and Śambhala'i lam yig.[62]

Whereas Man lung pa's treatment of the journey to Śambhala shows no concern with metaphoric juxtaposition, Tāranātha's and Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes's most definitely do. Both Tāranātha and Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes adopted the Kalāpāvatāra - the former in his translation of it, the latter in his adaptation of it - as authoritative even though they must have realized that its description of Śambhala does not agree with that found in standard Kālacakra texts. Tāranātha composed a large number of works on the Kālacakra making use of those texts, and Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes actually replaced the Kalāpāvatāra's description of Śambhala with descriptions from the Vimalaprabhā and Mkhas grub rje's subcommentary on it. The metaphoric juxtaposition with concepts of sādhana and mārga expressed in the Kalāpāvatāra was evidently more important to Tāranātha and Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes than the major discrepancies between that text and authoritative sources of the accepted Kālacakra tradition.

Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes's stated reasons for rejecting Man lung pa's guidebook as an authoritative source provide further evidence of the importance of metaphoric juxtaposition in the development of the mythic journey to Śambhala. He argues that Man lung pa's text implies that an ordinary person can go to Śambhala, but that in fact it is impossible for such a person to make the journey: only an advanced practitioner who has accomplished tantric practices and realized supernatural powers can hope to reach the kingdom.[63] In his argument Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes is clearly associating the journey to Śambhala with the practice of sādhanas leading ultimately to the attainment of enlightenment: at the very least it requires the exercise of powers resulting from such practices. As a consequence of being juxtaposed with the general conception of the mārga,

the path leading to the awareness of what is truly real, the journey itself must also be real, not fictional. He therefore rejects Man lung pa's guidebook on account of its having come from the delusions of a dream, as Man lung pa himself admits.[64] This second reason for rejecting Man lung pa's version of the journey reveals another feature characteristic of a living myth - the necessity that it be perceived as factual, rather than as fictional or illusory.

The features adopted by Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes from Man lung pa's guidebook and the Kalāpāvatāra also reflect the role of metaphoric juxtaposition in shaping his version of the journey to Śambhala. Aside from the description of the kingdom itself, which both authors draw mostly from standard Kālacakra sources, the only feature Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes takes from Man lung pa is the land of the hermaphrodites on the edge of Śambhala[65] - a feature conspicuously absent from the Kalāpāvatāra, on which he has relied almost exclusively up to this point. Significantly, the hermaphrodites are the only supernatural beings of Man lung pa's journey; they are also the only features that could easily be juxtaposed, through their symbolism, with conceptions of the mārga and/or sādhana. Their possession of both male and female organs in the same body could easily be taken to symbolize the union of male and female aspects, such as compassion (or means) and wisdom, that a sādhaka strives to attain on the path to enlightenment.[66] Such considerations probably underlay Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes's surprising decision to add this feature to his adoption of the Kalāpāvatāra after so forcefully rejecting Man lung pa's guidebook as an unreliable source.

In the case of the Kalāpāvatāra, Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes omits nearly all the verse sections.[67] He adopts only two major features from them: the episode of the springs with poisonous waters and the description of the northern countries to be traversed by one who possesses the power of mantras.[68] Both features clearly reflect juxtapositions with conceptions of sādhana and mārga, especially sādhana. The first feature, the episode of poisonous waters, embodies standard Vajrayāna symbolism concerning the transmutation of 'poisons' such as ignorance and envy into amrta and the wisdoms of a

Buddha on the path to enlightenment.[69] The second feature, the speed with which one who possesses the power of mantras can cross the northern countries, pertains directly to the practice of sādhana and the abilities of one who is accomplished in such practices.[70]

The metaphoric juxtaposition with various conceptions of the mārga and sādhana giving rise to the mythic nature of the journey provides a context for elaboration of specific features of the journey as symbols, as the analysis in the next section demonstrates.

4. Symbolism and Syncretism in the Journey to Śambhala

The symbolism and syncretism found in the features of the journey to Śambhala derive from the process of metaphoric juxtaposition underlying the development of the mythic journey as a whole. The ideas and phenomena juxtaposed by the root metaphors of journey as sādhana and journey as mārga have provided a field of symbolic reference for specific features of the journey to Śambhala, thereby opening them to elaboration as symbols.[71] The symbolism set up by the underlying metaphoric juxtaposition has, in turn, governed the process of syncretism involved in the adoption of material from antecedents in Hindu mythology. It has, in particular, determined what has been adopted and omitted and how the former has been transformed. The secondary processes of symbolism and syncretism have, therefore, led to the elaboration of specific features of the journey to Śambhala within the overall structure imposed by the metaphoric juxtaposition of that journey with various conceptions of the mārga and sādhana.

We begin with an examination of the role of symbolism and syncretism in the development of certain general features of the journey to Śambhala in the Kalāpāvatāra and Śambhala'i lam yig. As noted in the previous section, the placement of the starting point of the journey proper at the vajrāsana in Bodhgaya reflects the underlying metaphoric juxtaposition with the mārga and establishes the field of reference for the symbolism of many of the succeeding features of the journey: they will refer symbolically to various

aspects of the path leading to the enlightenment attained by all the Tathāgatas at that place, the most important pilgrimage site in the Buddhist world.

The general shift of features to the north, especially those adopted from antecedents in Hindu mythology, reflects the influence of this symbolism on the development of the journey to Śambhala. Śambhala itself, for example, is shifted from an unspecified location in India in the Kalki myth of the epics and Purāṇas to a region far to the north of India in the Kalāpāvatāra and Śambhala'i lam yig. In both Hinduism and Buddhism, north is pre-eminently the sacred direction associated with the gods and spiritual accomplishment, lending itself, therefore, to symbolism referring to various aspects of sādhana and mārga.

In Hinduism north is closely associated with ideas of a sacred center. It is the direction of the polar star, the axis around which the other stars revolve.[72] In that direction rises Meru, the mythical mountain at the center of the world. Along with lesser gods such as Kubera, who has his residence on Gandhamādana, the highest Hindu deities have their abodes to the north of India. Śiva dwells on Kailāsa beyond the Himālaya, Viṣṇu resides in the northern Ocean of Milk, and Brahmā has his seat on Meru.[73] Hindus regard the Himālaya itself as the favorite dwelling place of spiritually realized sages versed in knowledge of the ways to attain mokṣa.[74]

Above all, from the period of the early Upaniṣads, the northern path of the sun is associated with the path of the gods, leading north to the heavens and liberation itself.[75] According to the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, those who follow the path of the gods after death:

> . . .pass into the flame [of the funeral pyre], from the flame into the day, from the day into the bright fortnight, from the bright fortnight into the six months when the sun goes northward, from these months into the sun, from the sun into lightning. When they have reached the region of lightning, a spiritual person leads them into the

> worlds of Brahman. In these worlds of Brahman they dwell in the highest of the highest. For them there is no return.[76]

The Bhagavad Gītā echoes this passage in the following well-known lines:

> Fire, light, and day; the bright half of the lunar month; the six months that are the northern course of the sun - the knowers of Brahman who depart in these go to Brahman.[77]

Elsewhere, in the Āraṇyakaparvan, the Mahābhārata gives a concrete, geographical setting to the northern path of liberation:

> Brightening the north there rises the famous great Mount Meru, my lord, the propitious course of the knowers of the Brahman. On it lies the seat[78] of Brahmā . . . Beyond the seat of Brahmā shines the supreme abode of the lord Nārāyaṇa, God without beginning and end . . . Ascetics go there to Nārāyaṇa Hari through their devotion, yoked with the utmost austerity and pefected by their holy deeds. Great-spirited, perfected by yoga, devoid of darkness and delusion, they go there and no more return to this world, Bhārata.[79]

Even the Ṛg Veda mentions the path of the gods and distinguishes it from the path of the fathers, which in later literature leads to the south and rebirth.[80] Indeed, the south is generally associated with pitṛloka and the realm of Yama, the god of death, the fate of those who fail to attain release from the round of death and rebirth.[81] This opposition between northern and southern paths - one leading to the desirable end of liberation, the other to the evil fate of rebirth - is reflected in the Rāmāyaṇa in the opposition between Uttarakuru, the land of the blessed to the north, and Laṅkā, the realm of the demons to the

south. It also underlies the opposition in the Buddhist myth between the forces of good in Śambhala to the north and the forces of evil who will take over India to the south.

Along with many other features of Hindu mythology, Buddhism, particularly in Tibet, has adopted the north as a direction of particular spiritual significance. In that direction, to the north of Jambudvīpa, rises the sacred mountain of Sumeru, the axis mundi at the center of the world system. On its summit lies the palace of Indra and above it rise the heavens of form and formlessness, representing or embodying stages of concentration or trance cultivated on the path to enlightenment.[82] The north is also associated with very first event in the life of the Buddha Śākyamuni - an event of particular spiritual significance as it indicates the transcendent nature of what he was to accomplish in his lifetime. According to the Majjhima Nikāya, immediately following his birth he took seven steps to the north to proclaim, "I am the highest in the world, I am the best in the world, I am the eldest in the world; this is my last birth; there will not be another life for me henceforth."[83] Finally, of the four continents or islands surrounding Sumeru, the northern one of Uttarakuru is the only one with the characteristics of an earthly paradise, albeit of a sensual nature.

Tibetan Buddhism and the Tibetan tradition in general exhibit a marked tendency to transpose sacred places to the north. R. A. Stein has demonstrated in his exhaustive study of the Gesar epic, Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet, how Gesar, originally conceived as king of the northern quarter in the scheme of the kings of the five directions, became the çakravartin of the center, thereby transposing the center of that scheme to the north. In particular, having become the ruler of the world or Jambu gling in Tibetan, through a play on gling or dvīpa, he became the king of the country of Gling in northeastern Tibet.[84] According to Stein, Gesar emerged as king of Gling in the beginning of the seventeenth century[85] - right around the time of Tāranātha's translation of the Kalāpāvatāra into Tibetan. In the same century the Potala palace was constructed in Lhasa as the residence of the Fifth Dalai Lama, the emanation of Avalokiteśvara,

symbolically transposing the mythical mountain dwelling of that Bodhisattva northward, thereby implicitly shifting the site of the vajrāsana at the center of the scheme of the five great places of pilgrimage to the north of Tibet, in the direction of Śambhala.[86] All this reflects a milieu in Tibet at that time predisposed to the development of the idea of a mythic journey to the north, with its consequent transposition of features in that direction.

The tendency in Tibet to transpose sacred places to the north reflects a tension between the two great centers of the Buddhist world - the religious center at Bodhgaya, with the seat of the Buddha's enlightenment, and the cosmological center at Sumeru, with the palace of Indra and the heavens above. With the destruction of Buddhism in India and the transfer of the teachings to Tibet, this tension would have drawn the religious center north in the direction of Sumeru and Śambhala.[87] During the period preceding the translation of the Kalāpāvatāra, Tibetans themselves shifted their attention from pilgrimages to Bodhgaya and other Buddhist sites in India to pilgrimages to Lhasa and other sacred places in Tibet.[88] The tension between the two centers and its partial resolution in favor of the northern cosmological center of Sumeru would have had the effect of opening the journey to Śambhala to development as a mythic journey with its features transposed to the north.

The symbolism of the north as a sacred direction in both Hindu and Buddhist mythology has, therefore, influenced the development of the mythic journey to Śambhala in various ways. It has helped to reinforce the juxtaposition of the journey to Śambhala with the idea of the mārga as the path leading to the kind of spiritual accomplishment associated with the north. A precedent for the journey to the north as an expression of the path to enlightenment exists in the Hindu myths and texts, such as the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, that speak of the path of the gods leading north to Brahmaloka and liberation from rebirth, as well as others, such as the Mahābhārata, that tell of sages attaining mokṣa in the northern abode of Viṣṇu. The general Tibetan tendency to transpose sacred places to the north establishes a milieu or precedent for accepting the northern transpositions of

many of the features of the journey to Śambhala adopted from Buddhist and Hindu mythology. The effect of these transpositions is to sacralize these features by bringing them closer to the sacred center of the north, thereby helping to transform them into expressions of various aspects of the Buddhist path to enlightenment. In particular, associations with sacred realms of the north, such as Brahmaloka and the abode of Viṣṇu in the White Ocean, would have helped to transform Śambhala itself into a Pure Land at the end of a mythic journey of spiritual accomplishment.

The increased length of the journey in the Kalāpāvatāra and Śambhala'i lam yig also reflects the influence of juxtaposition with ideas of the mārga. Most versions of the mārga in the Mahāyāna tradition take numerous lifetimes to traverse. This temporal length of the mārga translates through juxtaposition into a lengthening of the journey to Śambhala, spatially as well as temporally. This accounts, in particular, for the elaboration and expansion on those features of the journey to Śambhala adopted from the journey to Uttarakuru in the Rāmāyana - as well as the expansion on earlier Tibetan guidebooks, such as Man lung pa's, that were not juxtaposed with the idea of the mārga.

Along with an increase in the length of the journey comes an increase in the level of its difficulty, reflecting the influence of symbolism arising from juxtapositions with ideas of sādhana as well as mārga. The difficulties in following the mārga to enlightenment come to be reflected in the difficulties in following the way to Śambhala. Many of these difficulties are of a supernatural kind that can only be overcome through the magic powers and practice of sādhana. Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes's reasons for rejecting Man lung pa's version of the journey as being too easy reveal the influence on the Śambhala'i lam yig of symbolism associated with the difficulties of sādhana and mārga. For him the journey is such that only yogins who practice sādhana and are following the mārga can take it. The juxtaposition of these two concepts with the journey to Śambhala accounts for the increase in number and complexity of obstacles on the way to the kingdom. In the Kalāpāvatāra and Śambhala'i lam yig these obstacles come to embody and symbolize

various aspects of the mārga and sādhana, both explicitly and implicitly. The result of this process can be seen in the elaboration of many specific features of the journey to Śambhala, especially those adopted from the journey to Uttarakuru in the Rāmāyana.

The three Bodhisattvas invoked near the beginning of the two Buddhist guidebooks represent an addition to the journey reflecting symbolism pertaining to the practice of sādhana as a means of following the mārga. The Kalāpāvatāra clearly states that the sādhaka should recite mantras to Amṛtakuṇḍalin and Yamāntaka in order to overcome hindrances and abolish all hatred.[89] The Śambhala'i lam yig adds that the ritual to Mañjuśrī is for the purpose of producing ability and power.[90] While gaining magic powers, overcoming hindrances, and appeasing the hatred of hostile forces along the way enable one to make the journey to Śambhala, all three ends play equally important roles in the standard practice of sādhana as a means of following the mārga.[91] The invocations of the Bodhisattvas, therefore, appear to have two simultaneous functions - one literal, pertaining to the physical journey to Śambhala; the other symbolic, referring to the spiritual path to enlightenment itself.

After returning from his sea voyage, the sādhaka proceeds to Mount Kakāri, which corresponds in position to Mount Kāla in the journey to Uttarakuru in the Rāmāyana. If, as seems likely, the episode at Kakāri has been elaborated from the earlier search of Kāla by the monkeys, the elaboration consists primarily of the addition of a complex ritual to Mārīcī.[92] The ritual produces drops of nectar that enable the sādhaka to overcome the next obstacle of the journey, a desert that requires twenty-one days of travel without food or water. As noted in chapter 4, this desert crossing has been, in turn, elaborated from a corresponding obstacle in the journey to Uttarakuru. Now, the ritual to Mārīcī described in the Kalāpāvatāra and Śambhala'i lam yig is commonly performed by Tibetan yogins as a means of preparing special pills that give them the power to fast in the course of practicing more extended sādhanas used to implement the mārga itself.[93] The elaboration in the journey to Śambhala of the episode of Mount Kāla and the desert crossing from the

Rāmāyana, therefore, reflects the influence of symbolism pertaining to the practice of sādhana as a means of following the path to enlightenment.

The great snow mountain inhabited by powerful sages and demons in the Kalāpāvatāra and Śambhala'i lam yig represents an elaboration of Mount Krauñca in the Rāmāyana with its great-souled maharsis. The role and nature of the sages has been expanded in the journey to Śambhala: if the sādhaka has developed sufficient power, they will fly him directly to Kalāpa; otherwise, the text implies, they are dangerous and should be avoided. The expansion of the role of the sages, therefore, reflects the influence of their symbolism in the Buddhist myth as gauges of the sādhaka's level of magical and spiritual development at that stage of the journey to Śambhala.

Mount Gandhara and the River Sītā in the Kalāpāvatāra and Śambhala'i lam yig derive from Kailāsa and the River Śailoda in the Rāmāyana. They both incorporate basically the same kind of elaboration - the addition of nearly identical rituals to summon forth rāksasīs and subjugate them through the visualization of Yamāntaka so that the sādhaka can make use of their powers to overcome obstacles on the way to Śambhala. This addition to the journey to Uttarakuru probably reflects the influence of symbolism pertaining to standard Vajrayāna practices of making use of passions and delusions, such as those embodied in demonesses, as means of overcoming the obstacles on the path to enlightenment. The very fact that the same kind of ritual is repeated in the elaboration of two different features in the same stylized way contributes to the likelihood that they represent the influence of symbolism at work in the development of the mythic journey to Śambhala.

Further evidence of the influence of such symbolism appears in the episode on the far bank of the Sītā in which the sādhaka recites the mantra of the female Bodhisattva Cundā, a female manifestation of Vajrasattva, and sees black blood dripping from his limbs.[94] According to standard symbolism in important sādhanas of purification focused on Vajrasattva, such a vision of black blood dripping from one's limbs represents a draining

off or elimination of bodily and spiritual impurities, a necessity for making progress on the mārga itself.[95]

Mount Menako with its horse-headed daughters of rākṣasas and nāgas is one of the features most obviously adopted from the Rāmāyaṇa. The elaboration here consists of making the horse-headed maidens of Maināka demonic, having them sing and make dangerously seductive songs and music, and requiring the sādhaka to get provisions from the mountain without succumbing to them. This elaboration shows clear signs of having been guided by standard Buddhist symbolism associating seductive maidens and their songs with the kind of sensual pleasures and distractions that must be avoided by one following the standard, as opposed to tantric, path leading to liberation from the bondage of such entanglements.[96]

The mountains with springs of poisonous waters in the Kalāpāvatāra represent a possible elaboration of Mount Kāla with its womb of gold in the Rāmāyaṇa: both have precious metals hidden within them.[97] The special properties of the poisonous waters that cause sickness and death for ordinary people but act as elixirs for the sādhaka who possesses the power of mantras reflect the influence of standard Vajrayāna symbolism concerning the transformation of poisons into amṛta, the nectar of immortality, on the path to enlightenment. This symbolism refers, in particular, to the transmutation of the five so-called poisons of lust, hatred, delusion, pride, and envy corresponding to the five skandhas into the five Buddha wisdoms associated with the standard set of five Tathāgatas.[98] In terms of sādhana, the episode of the poisonous springs indicates that the sādhaka has reached a stage at which he has gained the mundane siddhi or magic power to transmute physical as well as spiritual poisons into the elixirs of health and long life. The gold and silver inside the mountains with the waters of death and disease that give the sādhaka long life and good health reflect, in addition, the probable influence of alchemical symbolism concerning the use of gold and silver to create elixirs that prolong life and cure illness. According to the Ūrgyan guru padma 'byung gnas gyi rnam thar,

Padmasambhava acquired proficiency in the yoga of "the prolonging of life by taking the essence of gold, the preventing of disease by taking the essence of silver."[99] The waters of death and illness flowing from the mountains of hidden gold and silver in the Kalāpāvatāra would correspond to the essences of gold and silver that prolong the life and restore the health of a sādhaka who possesses the power of mantras, i.e. who is accomplished in tantric yoga.

Beyond the springs the sādhaka comes to a mountain inhabited by kinnaras who try first to seduce him with song and music, then to terrify him by emitting frightening sounds and assuming frightening forms, and finally to make him sorrowful by producing smoke and so forth. He overcomes these distractions by meditating on emptiness.[100] This episode clearly reflects the influence of symbolism pertaining to the Buddha's enlightenment under the bodhi tree in which Māra tried to distract him first with seductive maidens and then with terrifying armies. Like the sādhaka the Buddha overcame these distractions by remaining unmoved through the practice of meditation. Just as the Buddha then attained enlightenment, so the sādhaka then encounters the vajraḍākinīs who will take him straight to his goal in Śambhala.

The magic flight over the snow mountains on the shoulders of a vajraḍākinī shows the influence of symbolism involved in the practice of sādhana - most probably a sādhana from the Hevajra Tantra, the tantra most closely associated with vajraḍākinīs.[101] As embodiments of knowledge and magic power, symbolized in their ability to fly, ḍākinīs play an important role in Vajrayāna initiations and practices, inspiring sādhakas and bestowing siddhis on them.[102] The flight over the snow mountains to Śambhala fits the nature of these female deities and symbolizes a leap of transcendence to a state of higher attainment through the knowledge and power embodied in the vajraḍākinī. The verse commentary on this passage in the Kalāpāvatāra situates this leap of transcendence in the context of the mārga by saying, "Because the sādhaka's own sins have been consumed, he becomes happy". In addition, the flight over the snow mountains demonstrates that the

journey to Śambhala involves much more than mere physical travel: it requires the use and attainment of the kind of spiritual powers involved in the practice of sādhana.

The ritual to Ekajaṭī performed in the valley of medicinal herbs reinforces the symbolism implicit in the magic flight over the snow mountains. As a result of performing this ritual, the sādhaka gains the magic power to subdue all ferocious yakṣas and the unimpeded wisdom that enters into all things.[103] The former is clearly associated with the mundane attainments of sādhana, the latter with the transcendent accomplishments of the mārga. The performance of the ritual to Ekajaṭī at this stage of the journey to Śambhala, therefore, symbolizes the stage of magical and spiritual development the sādhaka has reached on the path to enlightenment.

The succeeding features of the journey reflect additional aspects of the advanced stage of spiritual development attained by the sādhaka as he approaches Kalāpa. An earlier section of this chapter pointed out how Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes probably incorporated the hermaphrodites into his adaptation of the Kalāpāvatāra because they lend themselves so well to symbolism associated with the union of female wisdom and masculine compassion attained by one who advances along the mārga. The names of the valley and forest that follow in both the Kalāpāvatāra and Śambhala'i lam yig, Samsukha and 'Perpetually Happy', symbolize the bliss, the mahāsukha, that attends the experience of enlightenment resulting from this union in the Vajrayāna tradition.[104] The choice of these names, therefore, probably reflects the influence of juxtaposition with some conception of the mārga in which the kingdom of Śambhala has become associated with the goal of sādhana performed for spiritual ends - which brings us to the remaining two themes of the myth and the conclusion of the dissertation.

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[1]The two terms of a root metaphor are fused or identified so that they are viewed or experienced as one and the same. The phenomena brought together in the metaphoric juxtaposition, on the other hand, are not necessarily regarded as one and the same.

Rather, they interact with each other in a looser fashion in which one influences the other in a more background way. Note that this analysis in terms of root metaphor and metaphoric juxtaposition is from the point of view of the observer engaging in analysis. A practioner may simply experience the root metaphor as an undivided whole from which divisions into fused or juxtaposed concepts and phenomena may or may not arise at a later point of self-conscious awareness.

[2]The idea of an interaction between systems of implications associated with phenomena elaborated from a root metaphor represents an extension and refinement of the interaction theory of metaphor proposed by Max Black. For a discussion of that theory and the interaction of systems of associated implications, see chapter 1 above.

[3]Namely, that a myth embodies a view of reality provided by a root metaphor.

[4]Van Buitenen, Mahābhārata 2, pp. 3-6.

[5]Van Buitenen points out that "The idea of the cakravartin is present in both Hinduism and Buddhism, but is hardly built up on the Hindu side. The cakravartins or samrāj's that the epic mentions are no doubt heroic but by no means divine" (Ibid., pp. 20-21). However, as the son of the god Dharma, Yudhiṣṭhira in the epic is presented as a divine samrāj/cakravartin.

[6]Ibid., pp. 3-30, and Idem., "On the Structure of the Sabhāparvan of the Mahābhārata," in J. Ensink & P. Gaeffke, eds., India Major (Congratulatory Volume Presented to J. Gonda) (Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1972), pp. 68-84. Van Buitenen draws on the detailed study of the Vedic rājasūya in J. C. Heesterman, The Ancient Indian Royal Consecration: The Rājasūya Described according to the Yajus Texts and Annotated (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1957)

[7]Van Buitenen, Mahābhārata 2, pp. 18-19. The Vedic digvyāsthāpana is described in Heesterman, p. 103.

[8]Ibid., p. 6.

[9]Van Buitenen, "Sabhāparvan," p. 70. Van Buitenen implies that those responsible for composing the Sabhāparvan deliberately used the rājasūya as a model for their composition, but this need not have been the case. The ritual may simply have provided a model that they used unconsciously as the background of their thinking.

[10]The special case of journey as ritual is particularly evident in pilgrimages which are ritualistic journeys involving the practice of rituals at sacred sites along their routes. Victor Turner, for example, notes that "pilgrimages seem to have attributes both of the wider-community, earth shrine, types of rituals . . . and of the liminal stages of rites de passage" (Victor Turner, "The Center Out There: Pilgrim's Goal," History of Religions 12 [1973], p. 214; see also the discussions of pilgrimage, ritual, rites of passage, and liminality elsewhere in this article and in Idem., Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture [New York: Columbia University Press, 1978]). A ritual, in turn, can be regarded as a journey composed of steps or stages leading to the goal of attaining the objective for which it is performed. See the discussion later in this chapter on sādhanas as journeys.

[11]Mahābhārata, 2.25.14-15, translation from van Buitenen, Mahābhārata 2, p. 80.

[12]Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, 8.23; Mahābhārata, 2.25.8-10. See translations of the these passages in chapter 4 above. The gatekeepers tell Arjuna, "Pārtha, you are incapable of conquering this city in any fashion. . . Any human who enters the city must die." (van Buitenen, Mahābhārata 2, pp. 79-80).

[13]Mahābhārata, 2.23.4, translated in van Buitenen, Mahābhārata 2, p. 77. Turner points out that a pilgrimage can be defined as a journey to a sacred place to fulfill a vow or obtain a blessing (Turner, "The Center Out There," pp. 197-98). The blessing involved here is the sanction to perform the rājasūya and consecrate Yudhiṣṭhira as a universal monarch. For the sacred nature of the north, the direction of the destination of Arjuna's journey, see the section later in this chapter.

[14]This summary of Madhva's interpretation of the Mahābhārata is drawn from Barend A. van Nooten's study of the epic, The Mahābhārata (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1971),

pp. 90-91. For a more detailed study of Madhva's thought, see Helmuth von Glasenapp, Madhva's Philosophie (Bonn and Lepzig: K. Schroeder Verlag, 1923), pp. 8 ff.

[15]V. S. Sukthankar, On the Meaning of the Mahābhārata (Bombay: Asiatic Society of Bombay, 1957), pp. 32-124.

[16]Ibid., pp. 63, 100.

[17]Ibid., pp. 121-24.

[18]Van Nooten, The Mahābhārata, p. 45.

[19]See, for example, Panikkar, Mantramañjarī, pp. 36-37. Padmanabh Jaini has pointed out this aspect of Agni ritual and worship in more detail in lectures in his course on Hinduism at the Unversity of California at Berkeley.

[20]Mandalas are built around the basic pattern of a center and the four or eight directions of the compass.

[21]On the Kauravas as incarnations of asuras see Sukthankar, pp. 65-66.

[22]Barend van Nooten suggested this point in conversations on the subject - see prior discussion in chapter 4. The influence of the digvijaya is made even more likely by the fact that it is fairly obvious to all, from the southern direction taken by Rāvaṇa when he flies off with Sītā, that she is in the south. The search of the four quarters would then function as an echo, so to speak, of a symbolic conquest of the four directions needed to establish Rāma as samrāj at the end of the Rāmāyaṇa.

[23]Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa, 3.8.5-7, translated in The Adhyatma Ramayana, p. 79.

[24]Rāma repudiates Sītā because she has belonged to another man, Rāvaṇa. She is forced to undergo a ritualistic ordeal by fire to prove her innocence - otherwise Rāma would not be regarded as a legitimate husband and ruler in the eyes of his subjects. In other words, at a deeper level, the rescue of Sītā functions as a ritual action that legitimizes the authority and stature of Rāma as a dharmarāja.

[25]Brockington discerns five stages in the development of the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa: stage 1, orally transmitted from about the fifth to fourth century B.C.; stage 2, approximately third

century B.C. to first century A.D.; stage 3, composed between the first and third centuries A.D.; stage 4, composed between the fourth and twelfth centuries A.D.; and stage 5, from about the twelfth century A.D. (summarized in Brockington, p. 329). Stages 4 and 5 are composed of passages relegated to the footnotes or Appendix I of the Critical Edition and passages with poor manuscript support. So, even by his dating, the Critical Edition of the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa dates from between the fifth or fourth century B.C. and the third century A.D. This section of the dissertation will focus, however, not on the stages of development within the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, but on the development of the epic in its later versions of the Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa and the Rāmacaritamānas. For the dates of the latter two see Whaling, p. 113, 223-24 (the Rāmacaritamānas was begun in 1574).

[26]Whaling, pp. 36-92, 320-21.

[27]Ibid., pp. 146-218, 321-23.

[28]See, for example, chapter 15 of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka in which the Buddha tells his audience that he attained enlightenment eons before he sat under the Bodhi tree as Gautama and that he seems to attain enlightenment over and over as an expedient device for the benefit of sentient beings (H. Kern, trans., Saddharmapuṇḍarīka or the Lotus of the True Law [New York: Dover Publications, 1963], pp. 298-310).

[29]Whaling, pp. 116-45, presents a convenient summary of the Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa.

[30]Ibid., p. 323.

[31]Ibid., pp. 252-307, 323-24.

[32]F. S. Growse, trans., The Rāmāyana of Tulsī Dās, 4th ed., rev. (Allahabad: North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press, 1887), pp. 379-80.

[33]For a summary of Rāmacaritamānas, see Whaling, pp. 229-51.

[34]Ibid., p. 319-27.

[35]Gnas chen lnga. Das, Tibetan-English Dictionary, p. 751.

[36]Rig 'dzin, vidyādhara. Klong rdol bla ma, Śambhala'i zhing bkod, p. 127.

[37]Man lun pa calls this section or chapter of his guidebook "The discourse on the center, the country of [the author's] own birth" (Man lung pa, fol. 17b).

[38]Stag tshang lo tsā ba, p. 293; Klong rdol bla ma, Śambhala'i zhing bkod, p. 127. In what would appear to have been an earlier version of the five great places of pilgrimage, Stag tshang lo tsā ba has Dhanyakāṭaka rather than the Potala Mountain as the southern site.

[39]The vajrāsana is the 'diamond seat or throne' on which the Buddha attained enlightenment. As such it corresponds to the throne at the center of a mandala palace, on which the deity sits in the act of attaining enlightenment. As Tucci remarks, "A mandala, as I have said above, is an ideal Bodhgaya, an 'adamantine plane', that is an incorruptible surface, the representation of the very instant in which is accomplished the revulsion to the other plane, in which one becomes Buddha " (Tucci, Theory and Practice of Mandala, p. 86).

[40]Rāmāyana, 4.42.58.

[41]For numerous examples of quests involving such hardships and obstacles, see Joseph Campbell, The Hero with a Thousand Faces, 2nd ed. (Princeton: Princeton/Bollingen, 1968).

[42]One of the most important collection of texts describing Vajrayāna practices is called the Sādhanamālā, the 'Rosary of Sādhanas'. For a discussion of the text and notions of sādhana and sādhaka in both Buddhist and Hindu traditions, see Agehananda Bharati, The Tantric Tradition, rev. ed. (New York: Samuel Weiser, 1975), pp. 228-78. He defines sādhana as 'spiritual exercises' (p. 68) and 'spiritual practice' (p. 219).

[43]In fact, the oldest meaning of sādhana, in the Rg Veda, is 'leading straight to a goal', according to Monier-Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, p. 1201. The notion of a journey is inherent in this meaning of the term, which is based on the metaphor of sādhana, or ritual, as journey.

[44]Thams cad la 'jug pa'i shas rab (Kalāpāvatāra, fol. 360b).

[45]These stages are apparent in the examples and discussions of sādhanas, particularly those dedicated to Tārā, in Stephan Beyer, The Cult of Tārā: Magic and Ritual in Tibet (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978). Beyer concentrates on analyzing the structure of sādhana treated as an individual ritual session; however, he points out the prerequisites of preliminary practices and qualifications and prior service to the deity and speaks of the application and attainment of siddhi as a result of the ritual sessions.

[46]Iṣṭadevatā.

[47]Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes uses the term bsnyen sgrub, meaning sevāsādhana in Śambhala'i lam yig, fol. 35a.

[48]Śambhala'i lam yig, fol. 1a.

[49]Kalāpāvatāra, fol. 352b.

[50]See the discussion of the four classes of tantra and the two stages of practice in chapter 3 above.

[51]Kalāpāvatāra, fols. 350a-350b.

[52]Kalāpāvatāra, fol. 361a

[53]See E. Obermiller, "The Doctrine of the Prajñā-pāramitā as exposed in the Abhisamayālamkāra of Maitreya," Acta Orientalia 2, pts. 1 & 2 (1932): 30-47.

[54]Ibid., pp. 1-2.

[55]Ibid., p. 37. 'Saint' here refers to arhat.

[56]Bhāvana.

[57]Utpanna krama.

[58]According to D. C. Bhattacharyya, "Abhayākaragupta, the renowned scholar of Tantric Buddhism, flourished during the period of Rāmapāla of the Pāla dynasty of India " (D. C. Bhattacharyya, "The Vajrāvalī-nāma-maṇḍalopāyikā of Abhayākaragupta," in Michel Strickmann, ed., Tantric and Taoist Studies, Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques 20 (Bruxelles: Institut Belges des haut études chinois, 1982), 1:70.

[59]Beyer, p. 128. For the discussion of the details of the correlations expressed in this table, see pp. 108-29.

[60]See the discussion earlier in this chapter on the root metaphors of journey as ritual and ritual as journey in the Mahābhārata.

[61]Man lung pa, fol. 17a. The passage that comes closest to giving an objective reads "If there be beings who wish to go to that country (Śambhala) in the future . . ." Man lung pa's traveller does listen to sermons and receive teachings in Śambhala, once he has arrived there, but he does not go to Śambhala explicitly for that purpose.

[62]This is not to say that a mythic journey must necessarily have overtly supernatural and spiritual features, only that it must express a deeper view of reality such as is often expressed through such features.

[63]Śambhala'i lam yig, fols. 34a-34b.

[64]Ibid., fol. 34a. At the beginning of his guidebook, Man lung pa states that "what is shown is [from] the magic circle or contrivance of illusion (sgyu ma'i 'khrul 'khor) that appeared in a dream of deep sleep." He repeats variants of this phrase at the end of each chapter.

[65]Ibid., fol. 41b; Man lung pa, fols. 15a-15b.

[66]See, for example, the discussion of the symbolism of sexual union within the yogin's body in Snellgrove, Hevajra Tantra, pp. 33-39.

[67]See the preliminary analysis of the Kalāpāvatāra and Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes' adaptation of it in chapter 2.

[68]Kalāpāvatāra, fols. 359a-359b; Śambhala'i lam yig, fol. 40b.

[69]For a fuller discussion of this feature, see the next section on the symbolism of specific features of the journey to Śambhala.

[70]One of the eight mundane siddhis obtained from the practice of sādhana is the power of rapid walking (see Chang, Tibetan Yoga, p. 118).

[71]By field of symbolic reference we mean the domain to which the symbol refers, the realm in which what it symbolizes is to be found. This domain may well be, and in the case of religious symbols usually is, extra-linguistic. With regard to religious symbols, Paul Tillich has pointed out that they "are distinguished from others by the fact that they are a representation of that which is unconditionally beyond the conceptual sphere; they point to the ultimate reality implied in the religious act, to what concerns us ultimately" (Paul Tillich, "The Religious Symbol," in Myth and Symbol, ed. F. W. Dillistone [London: S.P.C.K., 1966], p. 17. Summarizing the views of Paul Ricoeur, Jacques Waardenburg distinguishes symbols from metaphors in the following way: "A symbol which is expressed linguistically is also different from a metaphor. Though both have to do with a double meaning, the metaphor brings together two dimensions of the same linguistic nature, whereas the symbol brings together a linguistic dimension and another dimension which is of a nonlinguistic nature" (Jacques Waardenburg, "Symbolic Aspects of Myth," in Myth, Symbol, and Reality, ed. Alan M. Olson [Notre Dame and London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1980], p. 42). As pointed out in chapter 1, we have taken an extended view of metaphor which takes it beyond the linguistic dimension to focus on metaphor as a way of viewing or experiencing the world. It is also important to point out in this connection that in a religious symbol the symbol and the reality symbolized are one and the same and yet different, the latter being what Raimundo Panikkar refers to as 'the symbolic difference' (Raimundo Panikkar, Worship and Secular Man [London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1973], pp. 20-21). There is, of course, an extensive literature on symbols and symbolism. For additional discussion of the nature of symbol and metaphor and various levels of symbol, see Ricoeur, Interpretation Theory, pp. 45-69, and Tillich, pp. 15-34.

[72]Cornelia Dimmitt and J. A. B. van Buitenen, ed. and trans., Classical Hindu Mythology: A Reader in the Sanskrit Purāṇas (Philadelphia: Temple University Press,

1978), pp. 25, 28-29. On p. 47 there is a translation to this effect from the Kūrma Purāṇa. Dimmit and van Buitenen add that directly beneath the polar star lies Meru.

[73]The dwelling places of Śiva and Viṣṇu were discussed in chapter 4; Brahmā's seat on Meru is described in Mahābhārata, 3.160.12-23 (see translation below).

[74]Kalāpa, the abode of ṛṣis, lies in or beyond the Himālaya, and the region around the source of the Ganges in Garhwal is a favorite haunt of yogins and ascetics.

[75]Devayāna.

[76]Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, 6.2.15, translated in Raimundo Panikkar, ed. & trans., The Vedic Experience Mantramañjarī: An Anthology of the Vedas for Modern Man and Contemporary Celebration (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977), pp. 559-60.

[77]Bhagavad Gītā, 8.24. A less accurate, but more poetic and evocative, translation of this passage appears in Swami Prabhavananda and Christopher Isherwood, The Song of God: Bhagavad-Gita (New York: New American Library, Mentor, 1951), p. 78:

> There is the path of light, of fire and day, the path of the moon's bright fortnight and the six months' journey of the sun to the north. The knower of Brahman who takes this path goes to Brahman: he does not return.

[78]Sadas.

[79]Mahābhārata, 3.160.12-23, translated in Van Buitenen, The Mahābhārata, p. 533.

[80]Ṛg Veda, 1.183.6, 10.2.7 ; Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, 6.2.16. See the discussions in Panikkar, Vedic Experience, pp. 557-58, and A. A. MacDonell, The Vedic Mythology (1897; repr., Varanasi: Indological Book House, 1963), p. 167.

[81]Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, 6.2.16, and Edward Washburn Hopkins, Epic Mythology, Encyclopedia of Indo-Aryan Research 3, 1, B (Strassburg, 1915), p. 61.

[82]The four dhyānas of form and the four samāpattis of formlessness. For descriptions of the Sumeru system and the stages or degrees of trance on the mārga, see Mark Tatz and Jody Kent, Rebirth: The Tibetan Game of Liberation (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor

Press/Doubleday, 1977), pp. 33-40, and Obermiller, pp. 24-26. See also I. W. Mabbett, "The Symbolism of Mount Meru," History of Religions 23, no. 1 (1983): 64-83, which includes references to a number of other works dealing with Meru and Buddhist and Hindu cosmography.

[83]Majjhima Nikāya, 3.123, noted and translated in Mircea Eliade, A History of Religious Ideas: From Gautama Buddha to the Triumph of Christianity, vol. 2, trans. Willard R. Trask (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1982) p. 73. Eliade points out the spiritual significance of this event: "The myth of the nativity, then, proclaims that, from his birth, the future Buddha transcends the cosmos (he attains the 'crest of the world') and abolishes space and time (he is, indeed, 'the first' and the 'oldest in the world')" (Ibid.).

[84]Stein, Recherches, chapter 6, pp. 241-99.

[85]Ibid., p. 587. Stein points out that Gesar as King of Gling is mentioned only after 1643, with possible references back to about 1600. He therefore dates the completed epic to the period between 1400 and 1600 with a preference for the sixteenth century.

[86]The original Potala as the residence of Avalokiteśvara is the pilgrimage site of the southern quarter. If it gets shifted north to Lhasa, then the site of the center, the seat of the Buddha's enlightenment at Bodhgaya north of the original Potala, gets shifted, in turn, to the north of Lhasa - at least by implication.

[87]A nineteenth century lama's remarks on distinguishing two centers - a karmic center and a religious one - and how the religious center has moved to Tibet make a similar point. According to Kun bzang bla ma:

> When the text says center of the world, we have to distinguish between a karmic and a religious center. The first is at the center of the southern continent, the Diamond-Seat of India. It is the place where the thousand buddhas of the Pefect Age gain buddhahood . . . It is the physical center of the chief places of the holy land. But as for the religious center, this applies to where the Buddhist doctrine now abides. Wherever it is not found, that is a barbarous land. Thus from the time a buddha

appeared in the world and for as long as the doctrine continued to exist in India, the karmic center and the religious center were one and the same. But now that the Diamond-Seat in India has been seized by heretics and the doctrine there has been destroyed, so far as the idea of a religious center is concerned, it is just a barbarous place. Conversely although in the time of this Buddha, Tibet was a barbarous country, for there were few humans there and the doctrine was unknown, yet afterwards the number of humans gradually increased, the doctrine made a start there - and in spite all vicissitudes the true teachings of the the buddhas remained unchanged, so that Tibet is now the religious center (David Snellgrove, Buddhist Himalaya [Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1957], pp. 3-4).

The lama does not mention it, but the existence of a cosmological center to the north in Sumeru would have helped to draw the religious center northwards to Tibet.

88 According to Anne-Marie Large-Blondeau, Buddhist pilgrimages to sacred sites in India were virtually non-existent between the twelfth and nineteenth centuries, following the Muslim invasion of India and destruction of Buddhism there (Anne-Marie Large-Blondeau, "Les pèlerinages tibétains," in Les pèlerinages, Sources Orientales 3 [Paris: Edition du Seuil, 1960], pp. 218-19).

89 Kalāpāvatāra, fol. 352a.

90 Śambhala'i lam yig, fol. 35a.

91 See, for example, the description of a standard Tārā sādhana in Beyer, Cult of Tārā, pp. 175-226. The sādhaka cleanses the altar of defilements and hindrances, for example, with the following mantra:

Oṃ vajra-amṛta-kuṇḍali hana hana hūṃ phaṭ!

"Oṃ Diamond Swirling Nectar: kill! kill! Hūṃ phaṭ!" (p. 180)

The author of the sādhana points out that the ritual can be performed for the purposes of gaining a particular desire, accumulating merit, cleansing one's obscurations, or clearing away hindrances (p. 173).

[92]References to this and succeeding features footnoted in earlier chapters will not be footnoted again in this chapter.

[93]According to Samdong Rinpoche in a personal interview at Sarnath.

[94]Getty, p. 129, identifies her as a manifestation of Vajrasattva and points out that she is the only female deity that may have an image of him in her headdress.

[95]See, for example, the instructions for performing preliminary Mahāmudra practices involving a Vajrasattva visualization in Janice Dean Willis, An Introduction to Tibetan Buddhist Meditations (New York: Simon & Schuster, Touchstone, 1973),pp. 113-13. Samdong Rinpoche pointed out this aspect of the episode with Cundā in the Kalāpāvatāra in a personal interview at Sarnath. The impurities are the kleśas.

[96]Witness, for example, the seductive maidens sent by Māra to deflect the Buddha from his course when he was about to attain enlightenment.

[97]Kalāpāvatāra, fols. 359a-359b; Rāmāyana, 4.42.16. The mountains in the Kalāpāvatāra contain gold, silver, and other precious metals.

[98]For a discussion of the five buddhajñānas and the correspondences and transmutations associated with them, see Alex Wayman, The Buddhist Tantras: Light on Indo-Tibetan Esotericism (New York: Samuel Weiser, 1973), pp. 30-35.

[99]Urgyan guru padma 'byung gnas gyi rnam thar, translation in W. Y. Evans-Wentz, ed., The Tibetan Book of the Great Liberation (London & New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 137-38.

[100]Kalāpāvatāra, fol. 359b.

[101]Mallmann, Introduction à l'iconographie, p. 403. Mallmann points out that vajraḍākinīs are almost always attached to the cycle of Hevajra.

[102]Lama Anagarika Govinda, Foundations of Tibetan Mysticism (New York: Samuel Weiser, 1973), pp. 190-95. Mkha 'gro ma, the Tibetan for ḍākinī, means literally 'she who goes through sky or space'.

[103]Kalāpāvatāra, fols. 360a-360b.

[104] Kalāpāvatāra, fol. 360b.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

1. Metaphoric Juxtaposition in the Overall Development of the Myth of Śambhala

The concept of metaphoric juxtaposition formulated in the last chapter provides the key to elucidating not only the development of the mythic journey to Śambhala, but that of the earthly paradise and the messianic history and prophecy as well. However, in the case of the latter two themes, the underlying process it describes is not limited to one particular kind of metaphor: it operates through the medium of additional root metaphors of kingship and conquest. As a means of demonstrating the general nature and applicability of the approach developed in connection with the theme of the mythic journey, this chapter will begin with a sketch of the role of metaphoric juxtaposition in governing and unifying the overall development of the myth of Śambhala.

Unlike the theme of the mythic journey, that of the messianic history and prophecy has undergone very little change in Tibet. As chapters 3 and 4 demonstrated, most of its development took place in India before the eleventh century A.D. The Buddhist prophecy of Śambhala developed there primarily out of the Hindu myth of Kalki - to which it owes its basic conception, the title of its kings, and the name of the kingdom itself. After reaching Tibet in the eleventh century, its further development consisted of minor elaborations, preserved mostly in oral forms, and of interpretations of its inner meaning based on suggestive passages of commentary from the Kālacakratantrāja and the Vimalaprabhā.

We can discern three stages in the development of the messianic history and prophecy of Śambhala from its antecedents in Indian mythology to its fully developed form in Tibet. The first stage, represented in the Hindu myth of Kalki, provides the basic conception of a messianic figure who will destroy the forces of evil and initiate a golden age of the future. In the second stage the theme assumes a Buddhist form and is associated with the teachings of the Kālacakra Tantra. In the third stage interpretations of the prophecy based on this tantra are developed and the theme itself is elaborated with minor embellishments in Tibet.

Like the mythic journey with its levels of objective, the messianic history and prophecy has several successive ends or levels of aim. Raudra Cakrin is prophesied to come for the purpose of destroying the forces of evil in order to establish a golden age in which people can practice Buddhism and attain enlightenment. Stated in this form the prophecy has three aims nested within each other:

1) to destroy the forces of evil
2) to establish a golden age
3) to enable people to practice Buddhism and attain enlightenment.

As with the levels of objective in the case of the journey to Śambhala, these levels of aim give rise to metaphoric juxtapositions structuring the three stages of development of the theme of the messianic history and prophecy.

The first stage, represented in Hindu texts such as the Mahābhārata and the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, is characterized by an emphasis on the destruction of the forces of evil - the first aim of the Buddhist prophecy. Kalki roams the world exterminating various enemies of the varṇāśrama dharma, including mlecchaṣ, coraṣ, dasyuṣ, śūdraṣ, and others. The Hindu sources describe in great detail the degenerate conditions prevailing in the world under the rule of these forces of adharma; they pay hardly any attention, in comparison, to

the golden age to come. The Mahābhārata, for example, devotes approximately ninety verses to describing the end of the kali yuga and only twelve or so to the kṛta age resulting from Kalki's extirmination of the evil-doers.[1] In addition, in a number of texts, such as the Matsya and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas, Kalki actually passes away before the end of the kali yuga and plays no part in the golden age to come: his sole role is that of destroyer of evil - hence the meaning of his name 'Pertaining to filth or sin'.[2]

Kalki destroys the forces of evil by conquering them. Although born a brahman, he assumes the role and duties of a kṣatriya warrior and sallies forth at the head of an army to defeat the enemies of the varnāśrama dharma. In this way the Hindu myth supplies the idea of conquest that enters into the root metaphors structuring the theme at each successive stage of its development. Under the influence of this idea, the prophecy assumes the form of a conquest of the forces of adharma at the end of the kali yuga, thereby purifying the world of all evil so that the kṛta age may dawn.

With the emergence of the Buddhist prophecy in the second stage, the emphasis shifts from the destruction of the forces of evil to the establishment of a golden age under the rule of a çakravartin. The many battles with different opponents of dharma are condensed into a single battle with one enemy - the mlecchas. The description of degenerate conditions in the world under the dominion of the evil-doers is reduced and the descriptions of the golden age become, in comparison, longer and more elaborate. Whereas Kalki passes away before the kṛta yuga or else plays a minimal part in it, the rule of Raudra Cakrin and his successors is essential to the maintenance of the golden age in the Buddhist myth: Raudra Cakrin dies only after he has personally established the enlightened realm of a çakravartin throughout the world. The conquest involved in this stage is directed not so much toward destroying the forces of evil, as toward establishing a golden age of Buddhist teachings.

We can summarize this development by saying that the prophecy of the end of the kali yuga in the Hindu myth becomes the story of the establishment of the realm of a

cakravartin in the Buddhist. The golden age, which becomes the focus of the latter, is characterized by the univeral rule of Raudra Cakrin and his successors. As emanations of Bodhisattvas, these cakravartin kings make possible the spread of the Buddhist teachings and the ideal conditions for facilitating their practice throughout the world. Through his secular and spiritual power as the emanation of Mañjuśrī, Raudra Cakrin is able to conquer the mlecchas and establish a golden age of the Buddha dharma.

The Mahābhārata does refer to Kalki as a cakravartin, but his role as one is not emphasized by either the epic or later sources. This is in keeping with the greater importance and spiritual significance of cakravartins in Buddhism. As van Buitenen points out, "The idea of the cakravartin is present in both Hinduism and Buddhism, but is hardly built up on the Hindu side."[3] In particular, the divine nature characterizing the Buddhist cakravartin is largely lacking in the Hindu. Speaking with the latter in mind, van Buitenen adds that "There is indeed some evidence of the sacral character of kingship, though it is very meager compared with evidence for the sacred kings of the ancient Near East."[4]

The new emphasis on the cakravartin and his realm in the second stage of the prophecy of Śambhala reflects the importance and influence of kingship metaphors in Buddhism, specifically, that of the Buddha as cakravartin. According to Eliade, "The Buddha is the cakravartin par excellence."[5] Tucci also remarks on the sacral nature of the idea of the cakravartin and its metaphorical identification with that of the Buddha: "In Buddhism this relation [between royalty and the sacred world in Indian civilization] is still more marked, since onto the mystical figure of the Buddha has been superposed the myth of the cakravartin, the 'Universal Monarch', conceptions which the Indians developed, progressively, as the vicissitudes of history brought them into contact with Iran and made them familiar with the imperial conceptions of the Persians."[6] From his very birth the Buddha is viewed as a cakravartin: as soon as he is born, like a universal monarch performing the digvyasthāpana in the Hindu rājasūya rite of consecration, he takes steps

toward the four quarters and says, "I am the only lord in heaven and earth; from this time forth my births are finished."[7]

Under the influence of the root metaphor of Buddha as cakravartin, the Hindu brahman Kalki becomes a Bodhisattva king and his name is applied as a title to a whole series of such kings. In addition, eight of the remaining nine avatars of Viṣṇu become the successors of Raudra Cakrin in the Buddhist myth. The idea of kingship inherent in the conception of Kalki, but not very developed there, has emerged in full force in the Buddhist version of the prophecy. It has also influenced the development of the theme at a deeper and more pervasive level.

The root metaphor of the Buddha as a cakravartin lies behind the conception of an initiation as an abhiṣeka or consecration of a king in Vajrayāna Buddhism. In such an initiation one symbolically attains Buddhahood by entering into and taking possession of the spiritual realm of a Buddha represented in a maṇḍala. As Tucci remarks:

> The ceremony that is performed in a maṇḍala is, above all, an abhiṣeka, that is, a 'coronation' so called because it demands, as does the ceremony of royal coronation, a baptism or aspersion with water. . . As soon as the baptismal ceremony has been performed, the disciple who enters into a maṇḍala is in some rituals invested with royal insignia and emblems. One of the baptisms is known as mukutābhiṣeka, the 'baptism of the tiara', because the neophyte, when his head has been encircled with a crown, must become a king, raised up above all the play of cosmic and psychic forces . . . He is the king of everything, consubstantial with the Tathāgata.[8]

In the case of the myth of Śambhala, at this stage of its development, the root metaphor of the Buddha as cakravartin has led to a metaphorical juxtaposition of the prophecy with the performance of one or more abhiṣekas. The most crucial events, those associated with the three major kings of Śambhala, all show the influence of this

juxtaposition. Sucandra, the first king, receives the Kālacakra Tantra from the Buddha at a ceremony of initiation into the teaching at the stūpa of Dhānyakaṭaka, constructed in the form of a maṇḍala. The episode of Yaśas and the recalcitrant brahmarṣis revolves around the performance of an abhiṣeka to initiate them and the inhabitants of Śambhala into a single vajra kula or 'diamond family'. Finally, just as the Sabhāparvan and great battle of the Mahābhārata reflect the structure of the rājasūya, dramatizing the events in the latter, so the battle against the forces of evil and the establishment of the golden age in the reign of Raudra Cakrin reflect the attainment of spiritual sovereignty in the Buddhist ritual of consecration.

In fact, the structure of the prophecy as a whole shows the influence of juxtaposition with a generalized conception of sādhana as an entire course of ritual practice beginning with an initiation, represented in the Buddha's preaching of the Kālacakra, and continuing through successive invocations and applications of power against threats to the dharma from within, in the episode of brahmarṣis engaged in Vedic practices in Śambhala, and from without, in the defeat of the mlecchas who have taken over the outside world. In each of the latter two episodes, Yaśas and Raudra Cakrin attain their aims by generating magic powers through practicing the teachings obtained from the Buddha at the beginning. The establishment of the golden age as a consequence of these episodes corresponds to the attainment of siddhi at the conclusion of a course of ritual practice, whether it be to establish a king as a univeral monarch or a practitioner as a Buddha. The development of the prophecy at this stage, therefore, parallels that of the mythic journey at the stage when it, too, is juxtaposed with various conceptions of sādhana.

The metaphors of kingship in Buddhism are based, in turn, on the root metaphor of the mārga as conquest. In Indian tradition, whether Hindu or Buddhist, one becomes a king by conquering one's realm: in the rājasūya the king being consecrated must symbolically establish his dominion over the four quarters in the digvyāsthāpana.[9] In the digvijaya of the Mahābhārata, the Pāṇḍavas actually conquer the territory of the four

directions in order to consecrate Yudhiṣṭhira as samrāj. At his birth the Buddha announces his spiritual sovereignty over the world by symbolically conquering it in his steps toward each of the quarters. The metaphor of the Buddha as cakravartin derives, therefore, from that of the Buddha as jina or 'conqueror'. The widely used title or epithet for a Buddha, jina, reflects a deep-seated Buddhist view of the mārga as conquest in which one attains enlightenment by conquering or overcoming the forces opposed to its attainment, often symbolized or embodied in the hosts of Mara who attacked Gautama as he sat under the bodhi tree. This view or metaphor of the mārga as conquest is reflected in a number of other terms, most notably in the Tibetan translation of arhat as dgra bcom pa, 'one who has conquered his enemies'. Tibetans were predisposed to take arhat or 'one who is worthy' as arihat or 'one who kills his enemy(s)' because of the emphasis in Vajrayāna Buddhism on the use of sādhanas to subjugate and destroy forces regarded as enimical to mundane and transcendent aims. Both jina and dra bcom pa, therefore, reflect the influence of root metaphors of sādhana and mārga as conquests in which the sādhaka invokes the power of a deity to overcome his external foes and conquer his inner enemies on the path to enlightenment - the passions, delusions, and ignorance binding him to saṃsāra and the realm of suffering.

In the third stage these root metaphors of conquest bring the prophecy into juxtaposition with the mārga itself. Interpretations that first appear in India in the Kālacakratantrāja and Vimalaprabhā associate the final battle and establishment of the golden age to come with inner features and events having to do with the Buddhist path to enlightenment. Commenting on cryptic passages in the second chapter of the Kālacakratantrāja, the Vimalaprabhā points out that the text explains the war between Raudra Cakrin and the mlecchas within the human body. The commentary identifies Kalkin with the knowledge of equality, Hanuman with the knowledge of a śrāvaka, the mleccha leader Kṛnmatin with the path of evil, and so forth.[10] The conquest of the mlecchas is, therefore, juxtaposed with the conquest of inner forces opposed to the

attainment of enlightenment. This juxtaposition with Buddhist conceptions of the mārga is also reflected in a major transformation of the Kalki myth in India itself: the apparent loss or attenuation of the cyclical nature of the Hindu prophecy. The Buddhist texts make no mention of the return of Raudra Cakrin in another cycle of degeneration and renewal. Since the mārga in Buddhism takes the form of a linear progression toward the goal of enlightenment, juxtaposition with it would tend to deprive the prophecy of its cyclical nature - or at least diminish the attention paid to that aspect of it. Further evidence of the influence of the root metaphor of the mārga as conquest can be seen in the name of the mleccha leader and the identification of his adversary, Raudra Cakrin, with the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. Bu ston's translation of Kṛnmatin as 'Byis pa'i blo' or 'Childish Mind' suggests that the name refers to ignorant action, or ignorance, which is cut off by Mañjuśrī's sword of wisdom on the way to Buddhahood.

Tibetans have expanded on these associations of the prophecy with the mārga. The well-known autobiography of the 'mad' yogin 'Brug pa kun legs, compiled around the end of the sixteenth century, contains the following passage:

> But someone said to me, "When it is a question of catapults, guns, and so forth in the chapter of the world of the Kālacakra[11], doesn't that give the impression of being evil and deceptive or without compassion?" I made this response: "Not at all. Those are symbols of the victory over the system of 'arteries'[12] [that govern] discursive thoughts, [the system] that depends on the different parts of the body. What the Kālacakra says is this: 'It is in view of the well-being of sentient beings and by the greatest of mercies [of the Buddha] that diverse methods [are found] in the body.' These are metaphors that do not apply to archers or bearers of arrows."[13]

Chopgye Trichen Rinpoche, a contemporary lama and master of the Kālacakra, echoed this view in a conversation in which he remarked, "If you can use your body properly, then the

body becomes Śambhala, the ninety principalities [of the kingdom] concur in all their actions, and you conquer the kingdom itself." He was speaking at the time on the necessity of mastering the body in order to attain enlightenment.[14] On another occasion he compared the role of the mlecchas in ultimately helping to spread Buddhism throughout the world to the use of ignorance on the mārga: "Those who seek enlightenment normally avoid ignorance, but sometimes ignorance itself supports their meditation."[15] This kind of thinking may lie behind late Tibetan elaborations of the prophecy that have Tārā or Śrī Devī born as the queen of the mleccha leader in order to goad him into attacking Śambhala so that Raudra Cakrin will come out to destroy the mlecchas and establish a golden age of Buddhist teachings throughout the world.[16]

As noted in chapter 3, the earthly paradise of Śambhala is a reflection in space of the golden age of the future in time: the two share many of the same characteristics and are described in similar terms. In addition, just as Śambhala lies at the end of a journey, so the golden age comes at the end of a prophecy. The themes of the mythic journey and the messianic history and prophecy converge in the theme of the earthly paradise, which derives from them and brings them together in the overall development of the myth of Śambhala. As a consequence, the journey and kingship/conquest metaphors that underly the first two themes have combined to shape the form and content assumed by the latter theme.

We can discern four stages in the development of the theme of the earthly paradise of Śambhala, each one associated with a stage or stages of the other two themes. In the first stage, represented in the Hindu myth of Kalki, Śambhala appears for the first time - as a grāma, an inhabited place or village without any further elaboration or description. At this stage its only characteristic is that it will be the birthplace of a messianic figure who will destroy the forces of evil. The theme here is associated with the idea of conquest introduced in the first stage of the prophecy.

In the second stage, associated with the emergence of the Buddhist prophecy in India, Śambhala becomes a vast kingdom of the north ruled by a line of divine kings who preserve the Kālacakra Tantra and will one day establish a golden age throughout the world. As a repository of religious teachings, Śambhala gives rise to the theme of the mythic journey, seen in the accounts of the Indian Pandits who went there for the tantra and its commentaries.[17] The development of the prophecy as the story of the establishment of a cakravartin transforms Śambhala from a grāma into the realm of such a ruler. Under the influence of the root metaphor of Buddha as cakravartin Kalāpa is transformed from a simple aśrama or hermitage of sages into the magnificent palace of a divine king, such as that found in a mandala.[18]

Indeed, at this stage, Śambhala itself begins to take on the characteristics, although not yet the fully developed form, of a mandala: it becomes a sanctuary protecting the realm and teachings of a deified ruler from the predations of the forces of evil in the world outside. As Tucci points out, "First and foremost, a mandala delineates a consecrated superficies and protects it from invasion by disintegrating forces symbolized in demoniacal cycles."[19] Upon his return from obtaining the Kālacakra Tantra from the Buddha at Dhānyakaṭaka, Sucandra, the first king, in effect, consecrates Śambhala by building a three-dimensional Kālacakra mandala in the center of the kingdom. The transformation of Kalāpa into a palace also reflects the juxtaposition of the prophecy with the performance of an abhiṣeka involving the construction and use of a mandala. To quote Tucci again, "In any case, the correspondence between the ground-plan of the royal city and the basic pattern of a mandala, together with the emblems which decorate it, leave no doubt that the mandala was thought of as a palace."[20] We should point out in this context that Kalāpa becomes the capital city as well as the palace of the cakravartin kings ruling Śambhala.

In the third stage the kingdom of Śambhala becomes an earthly paradise. This stage is closely associated with the emergence of the mythic journey as a journey to such a paradise.[21] Śambhala comes to embody the goal - the attainments, both sensual and

spiritual - of sādhana as a course of ritual practice. At the same time it becomes a reflection in space of the golden age to be found at the end of the prophecy. Sickness and untimely death are non-existent, food is readily available, discord has no place among the people, and no one lacks for wealth. Texts such as the prayer by Blo bzang dam chos rgya mtsho, composed around the end of the sixteenth century, compare the ruler of Śambhala to Indra, the king of the gods, who resides in a heavenly palace on the summit of Sumeru.[22] Kalāpa itself is described in terms befitting the divine residence of such a deity.

At this stage Śambhala takes on the shape of an eight-petaled lotus blossom, the basic form of a maṇḍala used in the visualizations of sādhanas. According to Tucci, "A usual representation of this interior maṇḍala vision is a flower - properly speaking the lotus. Its four or eight petals disposed symmetrically about the corolla symbolize the spatial emanation of the One to the many."[23] The development of Śambhala as a maṇḍala in the form of an eight-petaled lotus blossom reflects the influence of metaphoric juxtapositions of the journey and prophecy with conceptions of sādhana. We find further evidence of this kind of juxtaposition in the following passage from Blo bzang dam chos rgya mtsho's prayer for rebirth in Śambhala:

> Each year at the new moon of the black month, the great king [of Śambhala], who has the power of accomplishment, manifests the body of the all-pervading lord, the glorious teacher, the Kālacakra himself; and with initiations he ripens the minds of his disciples.[24]

Here, Śambhala, as the kingdom of a king who manifests himself as the Kālacakra yi dam or iṣṭadevatā, has come to be seen as the mandala realm of a tutelary deity used in the initiation and visualization practice of a sādhana.

The *mandala* form of Śambhala also confirms its nature as an earthly paradise at this stage of its development. In addition to their role in initiations and visualizations, *mandalas* are typically the paradaisical residences of deities. As Eliade remarks,

> The *mandala* can, then, be regarded as a symbol of paradise. Several paradise symbols are evident in it. First, there is the resemblance between the pantheon that is an integral part of the *mandala* and the paradises of Buddhist imagination (Sukhāvatī, Abhirati, Tuṣita, Trayastriṃśa, etc.), in the center of which the Spureme God sits in his royal pavilion in the midst of a park with lakes, flowers, and birds, and surrounded by other divinities.[25]

Eliade goes on to identify these paradises as variants of the archetypal Indian paradise embodied in Uttarakuru, which, as we have seen, has probably influenced the development of Śambhala itself.[26] In any case, his description of the characteristic elements of a paradise - royal pavilion, park, lakes, flowers, and so forth - fit Tibetan descriptions of Śambhala perfectly.

In the fourth stage Śambhala assumes the nature of a Pure Land, the field of a Buddha in which one can obtain and practice, under ideal conditions, the teachings needed to attain enlightenment. We see this transformation reflected in the passage from Blo bzang dam chos rgya mtsho's prayer above in which the king of Śambhala manifests the body of the Kālacakra, the primordial Buddha, in order to initiate and ripen the minds of his subjects. Tibetans themselves regard the kingdom as a *zhings khams* or Buddha field, the only one on earth, according to Dudjom Rinpoche.[27] The development of Śambhala as a Pure Land is associated with the third stages of the other two themes in which the mythic journey and messianic history and prophecy are juxtaposed with conceptions of the *marga*.

The lotus blossom shape assumed by the kingdom also reflects the emergence of its nature as a Pure Land. In Indian mythology and religion, Buddhism in particular, lotus blossoms function as symbols of the kind of spiritual purity and purpose associated with Pure Lands. The Buddha who presides over such a Pure Land is generally depicted seated on a lotus, and his paradise is filled with masses of lotus blossoms growing in profusion. The following description of Sukhāvatī, the western paradise of Amitābha, is typical:

> On all sides it is surrounded with golden nets, and all round covered with lotus flowers made of all the precious things. Some of the lotus flowers are half a mile in curcumference, others up to ten miles. And from each jewel lotus issue thirty-six hundred thousand kotis of rays. And at the end of each ray there issue thirty-six hundred thousand thousand kotis of Buddhas. . .[28]

The mandala form of Śambhala at this stage reflects its juxtaposition with a specific conception of sādhana used as a means of pursuing the mārga - at least in later Tibetan interpretations of it. In the Kālacakra system of meditation, an eight-petaled lotus blossom is the symbolic shape of the heart cakra. As a consequence, the kingdom itself has come to be viewed by contemporary lamas, such as Samdong Rinpoche and Chopgye Trichen Rinpoche, as a symbolic representation of this cakra.[29] Now, the heart cakra has a particular significance in the Kālacakra system of meditation as the seat of the gnyug ma'i sems, the innate or most subtle consciousness, that must be awakened and transformed in order to attain enlightenment. In the sampanna krama or completion stage of advanced yogic practice, it is also viewed as the receptacle of a sphere made of red and white bindus or 'drops' enclosing the innate consciousness and embodying the bodhicitta or thought of enlightenment. The final limb of the six-part yoga in the Kālacakra sādhana involves the visualized manipulation of these drops in order to transform one's body into that of the Kālacakra deity himself. This limb is correlated with the five stages or paths of the

standard conception of the mārga.[30] The development of Śambhala in the shape of an eight-petaled lotus blossom associated with the heart çakra, therefore, probably reflects at a deep level the influence of a juxtaposition of the kingdom with practices used to follow the mārga in Vajrayāna Buddhism.

The juxtaposition of Śambhala with conceptions of the mārga and sādhana would account for the mistaken reading of the Kālaçakratantrāja in the Peking Canon in which a description of the eight directional divisions of Jambudvīpa came to be applied to the kingdom itself, resulting in the latter's assumption of an eight-petaled lotus blossom shape.[31] Such a juxtaposition would have created a predisposition to impose a mandala structure on Śambhala, in particular the specialized form associated with the heart cakra used in advanced stages of meditation. It is significant, moreover, that this shape emerged after Śambhala became clearly associated with the Kālacakra teachings emphasizing practices focused on the subtle consciousness and bindus visualized in that çakra.

2. Generalizations and Conclusions

As the preceding study shows, the unifying feature in the overall development of the myth of Śambhala is not a particular metaphor, such as that of the journey as mārga, but rather the general process of metaphoric juxtaposition through which the various themes have developed under the influence of different root metaphors. The messianic prophecy and the earthly paradise, for example, were shaped by juxtapositions arising from additional root metaphors of the Buddha as cakravartin and the mārga as conquest. This point extends the range of applicability of our approach to myths of widely differing natures based on a variety of themes, or combinations of themes, that may have nothing to do with journeys, conquests, or kingship - and yet may have developed in ways similar to that of the myth of Śambhala.

In order to make this approach more generally applicable, we will draw on the terminology used by I. A. Richards in his seminal work on the tension or interaction theory of metaphors. According to him, a metaphor consists, at its simplest level, of two ideas or images, which he terms the 'vehicle' and the 'tenor'.[32] The former refers to the figurative or more concrete term that conveys, as a kind of vehicle, the underlying idea or tenor of the latter, which is generally more abstract. In the case of the metaphor 'life is a journey', the tenor is 'life', the vehicle is 'a journey'.

We can now describe the approach developed in connection with the myth of Śambhala in the following, more general way. A mythic theme, such as that of a journey, that embodies the vehicle of a root metaphor in its given tradition will tend to be put into metaphoric juxtaposition with an elaborated version of the tenor of that metaphor. In the case of the guidebooks to Śambhala, we saw how the journey to the kingdom was juxtaposed with various conceptions of sādhana and mārga, the tenors of root metaphors in Buddhist practice and doctrine. This process may or may not happen consciously or explicitly - and in the case of most myths does not - but it will influence the development of the myth in which the theme is found. The system of implications associated with the elaborated version of the tenor will shape the form and content assumed by the extended vehicle or theme - and vice versa. The structure of one will tend to mirror that of the other as the myth develops.

As noted in the previous chapter, metaphoric juxtaposition allows the journey to Śambhala to acquire its mythic nature by providing a means for it to express a deeper view of reality - that imbedded in Buddhist conceptions of sādhana and mārga. This function of metaphoric juxtaposition explains, in part, why it underlies the development of so many myths in not only India and Tibet, but in Asia and the rest of the world. We can see it at work explicitly in allegories such as Dante's Divine Comedy and implicitly in epics such as the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyana, to say nothing of the numerous works of a similar nature that we have not had the opportunity to examine. The views of reality expressed may be

radically different, but the ways in which the myths expressing them have developed through the process of metaphoric juxtaposition may be quite similar.

In fact, the range of potential application of our approach extends beyond the study of myth to the analysis and comparison of religious and cultural phenomena in general. In what follows, we will indicate a number of areas where this approach is applicable and how it might be applied. Some of what is suggested will overlap or call to mind the work and theories of scholars in various fields. Pointing out these similarities and making comparisons would go beyond the scope of this dissertation and require another book. That will, accordingly, be left up to the reader to pursue as he or she thinks fit.

A fruitful and intriguing area of investigation would be the role of metaphoric juxtaposition in the development of religious doctrines and philosophical ideas. In our examination of the myth of Śambhala, we noted the existence in Buddhism of root metaphors of conquest and journeying. Buddhist terminology reveals the presence of at least two more root metaphors underlying basic conceptions of doctrine and practice in that tradition. The Four Noble Truths of the Buddha's first sermon are based on the root metaphor of the mārga as the way of healing or curing the ills of existence. This metaphor is inherent in the meaning of the pivotal term duḥkha or 'suffering' - the suffering that the eight-fold path is designed to end. It is reinforced by the view or conception of the Buddha as the Great Healer or Physician.[33] The other root metaphor, that of the mārga as growth and fruition, appears in the meaning of such key terms as tathāgatagarbha, 'the embryo of the Tathāgatas', and lam 'bras, 'path and fruit'.[34] These two terms - and the metaphors they express - have played important roles in major schools of Buddhist thought and practice.[35] The question to investigate is not only how these and the other root metaphors of journey and conquest have expressed views of sādhana and mārga in Buddhism, but also how they may have shaped the very conception and development of those basic ideas. The elaboration of these concepts in various schools of Buddhist

thought probably reflects, through metaphoric juxtaposition, the influence of features associated with journeys, conquests, the growth of embryos, and so forth.

The analysis of ritual practices also offers itself as a promising area of application of the approach developed in this dissertation. The preceding study of the development of the myth of Śambhala indicated the role of metaphor and metaphoric juxtaposition in the performance of sādhanas in general and abhisekas or initiations in particular. The elaborate sacrifices of Vedic religion make extensive use of complex correspondences among various levels of reality - those of men, gods, and so forth. A myth describing a paradigmatic sacrifice in the Rg Veda, the well-known Puruṣasūkta, is based on the metaphor of the universe as a primordial man.[36] A detailed study could be made of the role of this and other root metaphors in setting up metaphoric juxtapositions governing the structure and development of various systems of correspondences used in Vedic rituals and myths.[37]

An obvious category of ritual practice to which to apply this approach - and its application to the development of the mythic journey to Śambhala in the preceding chapter as a model - is that of pilgrimage. Studies could be made of the form and development of pilgrimages in relation to journey metaphors in their particular traditions. The concept of metaphoric juxtaposition could also be used to explore the relationship between myth and pilgrimage: to what extent is a pilgrimage modeled on a mythic journey, such as that of a past saint, god, or hero? How important, on the other hand, are myths connected with shrines and sites along the way in supplying root metaphors shaping that pilgrimage? A study could also explore the question of whether pilgrimages develop in stages like those of the mythic journey to Śambhala in which the journey itself came to be viewed as a practice of sādhana and means of following the mārga. Did people orginally undertake a particular pilgrimage simply to obtain blessings at the shrine at the destination, only later to treat the pilgrimage itself as a source of blessing and transformation? Such a study could be used to contrast pilgrimages that focus on the goal with those that focus on the journey

to that goal. In fact, a general comparison and typology could be set up based on the root metaphor or metaphors underlying different kinds of pilgrimage.[38]

At a still more general level, the concept of metaphoric juxtaposition could be used to compare the nature and development of religious traditions as wholes. To what extent does a set of root metaphors characterize a particular religion or tradition? What accounts for the different ways in which different traditions develop from the same root metaphor - for example, that of God as father? To what extent does metaphoric juxtaposition determine the specific development of a particular tradition, doctrine, or practice? Some work has been accomplished in this area, but much remains to be done.[39]

A comparison of different traditions would reveal that certain root metaphors have a wider range of distribution and greater influence than others. An investigation, both theoretical and empirical, could be made of the factors accounting for the relative prevalence of a particular kind of metaphor. For example, certain ideas or phenomena, by virtue of their ubiquitousness in human life and history, lend themselves to use in root metaphors of disparate traditions. This dissertation has focused on one particularly widespread and powerful phenomenon - that of the journey. We have seen the central role of journey metaphors in Buddhism, particularly in Buddhist conceptions of the mārga or path to enlightenment.[40] This kind of metaphor also underlies basic Christian conceptions of the human soul and its destiny. As the following passage from Thomas Aquinas indicates, medieval theologians viewed man as a wayfarer, one engaged in undertaking a journey:

> We are called wayfarers by reason of our being on the way to God, who is the last end of our happiness: in this way we advance the more the nearer we get to God, who is approached 'not by steps of the body but by affections of the soul' (Augustine, Tractatus in Joannis evangelium, 32).[41]

Seeking the broadest possible definition of religion in general, a modern scholar has defined it in terms of a journey metaphor:

> I shall consider as religion not only what circulates under this label, but everything that claims to perform the function that religion strictu sensu is said to perform. In this broader meaning, any ensemble of means that claims to convey Man to his life's goal, however this goal may be conceived, can be considered religion.[42]

As an approach or methodology, the use of the concept of metaphoric juxtaposition has the great advantage of allowing us to elucidate and better understand the development of a myth or other religious phenomenon in its own context. It enables us to see, in detail, the process by which structures within a given tradition have shaped and otherwise influenced the myths, doctrines, and practices found in that very tradition. This approach avoids the pitfall of imposing one system or cultural view on another, where it may be inappropriate or misleading. Many approaches, such as the Freudian, Jungian, and structuralist, have a tendency to fall into this trap. Too often outside observers find Oedipal complexes, animas, and contrived binary oppositions where they do not exist or play relatively minor roles. At the same time they overlook indigenous factors that may be much more relevant to an understanding of a particular myth.[43] The approach suggested here does not explain everything, but it does bring a healthy corrective balance by highlighting the importance of approaching the object or subject of investigation on its own terms.

There still remains the question: why should this approach be applicable across so many different cultures and traditions? Why should the process of metaphoric juxtaposition underly the development of widely disparate myths and other religious phenomena? I. A. Richards has pointed out that "thought is metaphoric, and proceeds by comparison, and the metaphors of language derive therefrom."[44] I would extend his

remark to the metaphors of myth and religion and suggest that the mind has an inherent tendency or predisposition to structure experience through metaphorical juxtaposition. This tendency, motivated by a need to organize and grasp things in wholes, precedes and gives rise to structures such as Claude Lévi-Strauss' binary oppositions, which could be regarded as a special case of a more general process.[45] In this sense, from an epistemological point of view, structure is a secondary phenomenon supplied by the root metaphors of a particular culture or tradition.

Thus far we have discussed how the process of metaphoric juxtaposition shapes the development of myths and other religious and cultural phenomena. I would suggest, however, that it does something more - something that goes a long way toward explaining the universality and power of certain themes such as that of the mythic journey. Paul Ricoeur has pointed out how the tension of a metaphor causes the destruction of its literal interpretation and the creation of a new meaning or redescription of reality.[46] But from the point of view of a religious believer or practitioner, metaphors do not create new meanings: they do not redescribe reality - rather, they reveal it. They awaken a fresh awareness of what is already, in some sense, there. The tension in a metaphor forces the religious practioner to transcend the world of everyday experience and become aware of a sacred or ultimate reality that lies beyond, beneath, or within it. Metaphoric juxtaposition serves to revive the dead metaphors buried in the deepest religious and philosophical doctrines and concepts. The juxtaposition of the concrete journey to Śambhala with an elaborated version of the path to enlightenment acts to resuscitate the tension in the root metaphor underlying the concept of the mārga itself. As a result, that concept regains its power to awaken an awareness of the reality to which it refers - but which it can never describe. As the mythic journey to a place like Śambhala develops, the transcendence sought at the goal infuses the journey itself so that it becomes an expression of that very transcendence. The process of metaphoric juxtaposition that transforms the journey to Śambhala opens the participant, as well as the observer, to an experience of reality itself.

This last point and the ones preceding it require further research and raise a host of additional questions concerning, among other things, the nature and function of metaphoric juxtaposition and the ontological status of metaphor and structure. The end of our study of the guidebooks to Śambhala is merely the beginning of another journey - and another book.

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[1]Mahābhārata, 3.188.10-189.1, on the end of the kali yuga, and 3.189.1-12, on the advent of the kṛta.

[2]See chapter 4 above.

[3]Van Buitenen, Mahābhārata 2, pp. 20-21.

[4]Ibid., p. 20.

[5]Eliade, Yoga, p. 221.

[6]Tucci, Theory and Practice, p. 44. Tucci's remarks here also point to the greater development of the notion of the cakravartin in Buddhism and its probable source in Near Eastern ideas of sacral kingship to which van Buitenen refers above.

[7]Samuel Beale, trans., Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World, Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang, 2 vols. (Boston: J. R. Osgood, 1885), 2:24. For more on ideas of kingship and the relation of the concept of the cakravartin to the Buddha, especially in Theravāda Buddhism, see S. J. Tambiah, World Conqueror and World Renouncer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976).

[8]Tucci, Theory and Practice, pp. 44-45.

[9]See chapter 5 above.

[10]Kālacakratantrāja, 2.48, and Vimalaprabhā, commentary on that verse in fol. 104a (Sanskrit version). The 'knowledge of equality' is the samyakjñāna and the 'path of evil' is the akuśalapatha. The 'knowledge of a śrāvaka' or śrāvakajñāna refers to the attainment or stage of the disciple who hears the Buddhist teachings. The second chapter of the Vimalaprabhā is titled the the Adyātma or Adyātmanirnaya paṭala and deals with matters of

an inner nature. It uses the term svadehe, 'in one's own body', to indicate the inner nature of external characters and events in the prophecy of Śambhala - what they correpond to within the body and mind.

[11]That is, the Lokadhātupatala, the first chapter of the Kālacakratantrāja.

[12]Nādīs, the channels through which move the winds and so forth that must be controlled in order to attain enlightenment.

[13]Translated from the french translation in R. A. Stein, trans., Vie et chants de 'Brug-pa Kun-legs le yogin (Paris: G.-P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 1972), p. 84. The title of the work in Tibetan is Rnal 'byor pa'i ming can kun dga' legs pa'i rnam thar byung chul lhug par smras pa zhib mo'i rcing mo ha le ho le sna zin spu zin nas bkod pa.

[14]Private conversation with Chopgye Trichen Rinpoche in Lumbini, Nepal, recorded in Bernbaum, Way to Shambhala, p. 155.

[15]Private conversation with Chopgye Trichen Rinpoche in Bodhnath, Nepal (Ibid., pp. 250-51).

[16]See, for example, the version in K'am-trül Rinpoche, "Geography and History," p. 10, in which Śrī Devī, one of the major protectors of Buddhism, is born as the queen and tells the arrogant ministers of the evil king, after they think that he has become the most powerful ruler in the world, "O proud and childish ministers, I have witnessed an even greater world than this one. If we do not conquer it (Śambhala), your current pride will be nothing more than childish boasting." In other versions the queen is Tārā, the Savioress. There seem to be no textual sources for these elaborations: K'am-trül Rinpoche (Khamtrul Rinpoche) evidently got his from an oral tradition that developed in Tibet.

[17]We set aside the earlier appearance of the Kalāpāvatāra in India and look at the development of the themes of the earthly paradise and mythic journey in the main stream of Indian and Tibetan tradition.

[18]The Hindu sources also refer to Kalāpa as a grāma, just as they refer to Śambhala. In this regard it may be no conicidence that the two grāmas, Kalāpa and Śambhala, have developed together.

[19]Tucci, Theory and Practice, p. 23.

[20]Ibid., p. 44.

[21]The transformation of Śambhala into an earthly paradise, reflected in its assumption of an eight-petaled lotus blossom shape (see below) in Man lung pa's guidebook, would have created the motivation for the development of a mythic journey to such a place at a later date. The earthly paradise would have emerged as a result of the influence of the second and third stages of the prophecy.

[22]Blo bzang dam chos rgya mtsho, p. 464.

[23]Tucci, Theory and Practice, p. 27.

[24]Blo bzang dam chos rgya mtsho, p. 467.

[25]Eliade, Yoga, pp. 222-23.

[26]Ibid., p. 223; chapter 4 above.

[27]Personal interview in Kathmandu, Nepal.

[28]From the Sukhāvatīvyūha, 16, translated in Conze, Buddhist Texts, p. 203.

[29]Private interviews, noted in Bernbaum, Way to Shambhala, p. 144.

[30]This brief description of the heart cakra and its associations with practices of yoga and stages of the mārga is drawn from conversations with Samdong Rinpoche and from the article by Geshe Sopa, "Excursus on the Subtle Body," pp. 52-66, with particular reference to notes 18, 33, 53-55. For other discussions of this and related subjects, see Mullin, Bridging the Sutras and Tantras, 115-56, and Lati Rinbochay and Jeffrey Hopkins, Death, Intermediate State and Rebirth in Tibetan Buddhism (Valois, NY: Gabriel/Snow Lion, 1980). The ṣaḍaṅgayoga or 'six-limbed yoga' is a central and characteristic feature of the Kālacakra Tantra. On the five stages or paths of the mārga, see chapter 5 above.

[31]See chapter 3 above, the section comparing Bu ston's translation of this passage to that found in the Peking edition of the Tibetan Canon.

[32]Richards, pp. 96-97.

[33]For more on the role and image of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas as healers, see Raoul Birnbaum, The Healing Buddha (Boulder, CO: Shambhala, 1979).

[34]Garbha can also mean in this context, womb, germ, or matrix. The idea of growth, however, is inherent in all these terms.

[35]On the tathāgatagarbha theory in Buddhism, see D. Seyfort Ruegg, La théorie du tathāgatagarbha et du gotra (Paris: École française d'Extreme-Orient, 1969). On the history of the lam 'bras teaching, which forms the basis for the doctrtines and practices of the Sa skya sect of Tibetan Buddhism, see Roerich, Blue Annals, pp. 204-40.

[36]Rg Veda, 10.90, translated and commented on in Panikkar, Vedic Experience, pp. 72-77.

[37]The Aśvamedha or horse sacrifice, one of the most important of all Vedic sacrifices, is based on the root metaphor of the horse as the world or universe - a point made clear by the opening passage of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, 1.1 (for further discussion see Panikkar, Vedic Experience, pp. 376-80). Other important Vedic rituals are described and analyzed in detail in Heesterman, Ancient Indian Royal Consecration, and Frits Staal, ed., Agni: The Vedic Ritual of the Fire Altar, 2 vols. (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1983). Staal maintains that Vedic ritual is meaningless and brushes aside the correspondences explicitly stated in the Brāhamaṇa literature as later, arbitary interpretations that "fail to elucidate rites, and throw no light on Vedic ritual" (Frits Staal, "The Search for Meaning: Mathematics, Music, and Ritual," American Journal of Semiotics 2, no. 4 [1984]: 42). He does concede that these interpretations may constitute a system within themselves. However, the correspondences are also found in the pre-Brāhmaṇic mantras or hymns from the Rg Veda that are used in the actual performance of the rituals themselves. The question of whether these correspondences have been

organized by underlying root metaphors that also structure the rituals needs further investigation. In any case, such metaphors have clearly influenced later developments of Vedic ritual, including its interpretation in the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads and its transformation in tantric practices. For tantric transformations of the Vedic fire ritual in East Asia and Tibet, see Michel Strickmann, "Homa in East Asia," in Agni: The Vedic Ritual of the Fire Altar, ed. Frits Staal, 2 vols. (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1983), 2: 418-55, and Tadeusz Skorupski, "Tibetan Homa Rites," in Agni: The Vedic Ritual of the Fire Altar, ed. Frits Staal, 2 vols. (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1983), 2: 403-17.

38 Victor Turner has done extensive work on pilgrimage, focusing on conceptions of liminality and communitas (Turner, "Center Out there," and Image and Pilgrimage). There has been increasing interest in and a growing body of scholarly literature on the subject of pilgrimage. A recent work by E. Alan Morinis includes a chapter giving a useful survey of theoretical work that has been done on pilgrimage and its interpretation (E. Alan Morinis, Pilgrimage in the Hindu Tradition: A Case Study of West Bengal [Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1984], chapter eight). John Holt touches on the relation of root metaphors to Buddhist pilgrimage in "Pilgrimage and the Structure of Sinhalese Buddhism," Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies 5, no. 2 (1982): 32-40.

39 See, for example, MacCormac, Metaphor and Myth; Ricoeur, Interpretation Theory; Gerhart and Russell, Metaphoric Process; Barbour, Myths, Models and Paradigms; David Tracy, "Metaphor and Religion: The Test Case of Christian Texts," Critical Inquiry 5 (1978): 91-106; and Sallie McFague, Metaphorical Theology: Models of God in Religious Language (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982). Hardly any scholars in this area have taken a comparative approach that goes beyond western religions to include Buddhism, Hinduism, and other non-western traditions with radically different root metaphors - most have focused their attention on the role of root metaphors in Christianity.

[40]For examples of two other journeys that have been influential in Buddhist traditions and have lent themselves to metaphorical treatment, see Fontein, Pilgrimage of Sudhana, and Lewis Lancaster, "The Story of a Buddhist Hero," The Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies, new series 10, no. 2 (1974): 83-89.

[41]Thomas Aquinas, Summa theologica 2-2, 24.4, translated in Yu, "Two Examples of Literary Pilgrimage," p. 206.

[42]Panikkar, "Hermeneutics of Religious Freedom: Religion as Freedom," in Myth, Faith and Hermeneutics, p. 435.

[43]Kirk has pointed out the limitations in theories of myth that make claims to universality (Kirk, "On Defining Myths," pp. 54-55). This is not to say that each approach does not have something valid and useful to contribute - Oedipal complexes and binary oppositions clearly play major roles in some myths and cultures, but not in others - only that taken by themselves, without reference to other theories and the context itself, they are apt to provide one-sided and distorted views.

[44]Richards, p. 94. McFague, pp. 32-42, expands on the centrality and pervasiveness of metaphor in thought and language, particularly in the area of religious thought.

[45]In his influential study of the myth of Asdiwal, Lévi-Strauss finds that various levels of the story - geographic, economic, sociological, and cosmological - parallel each other as transformations of an underlying logical structure made up of binary oppositions, which he regards as the basic structure of the myth and attributes in other works to the basic working or nature of the mind (Claude Lévi-Strauss, "The Story of Asdiwal," trans. Nicholas Mann, in The Structural Study of Myth and Totemism, ed. Edmund Leach [London: Tavistock Publications, 1967], pp. 1-47; La pensée sauvage [Paris: Plon, 1962]; and Mythologiques: le cru et le cuit ([Paris: Plon, 1964]). The approach developed here would argue that the parallels arise from metaphoric juxtaposition and that the binary oppositions are structures that are culturally determined, rather than universal or genetic, as

Lévi-Strauss seems to imply. This approach would allow us to analyze levels of other myths as transformations of more complex and interesting structures.

[46] Ricoeur, Interpretation Theory, pp. 45-69; The Rule of Metaphor, studies 7 and 8; and "The Metaphorical Process as Cognition, Imagination, and Feeling," in Philosphical Perspectives on Metaphor, ed. Mark Johnson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1981), pp. 228-47. As noted in chapter 1 above, Ricoeur identifies three kinds of tension in a metaphor - tension within the metaphorical statement, tension between two interpretations, and tension in the relational function of the copula. According to him, the absurdity of the literal interpretation causes it to self-destruct and open the way for a metaphorical interpretation with a new field of reference.

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